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The Shape of Things

SINCE FREEDOM FROM WANT IS FUNDAMENTAL to the enjoyment of other freedoms, and since the pressure of hunger is a standing menace to peace, it is fitting that the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) should be the first of the United Nations satellite groups to start operations. Meeting at Quebec at the end of October, the organization adopted a charter which has already been signed by more than thirty nations, elected officers, and began discussions of its monumental task. FAO will collect and distribute information regarding nutrition, food, and agriculture, provide on request technical assistance to member governments, and prepare and recommend to "the appropriate authorities" positive measures to improve the production and distribution of food and other farm products. Naturally there was some controversy at the conference about where to begin. Countries with the most advanced farming practices—the United States, Canada, Australia, and Denmark, among others—were particularly concerned about prospective surpluses and urged the promotion by FAO of international controls which would stabilize prices. On the other hand, China and India, whose great problem is to increase productive efficiency and so raise the deplorably low living standards of their people, proposed that for the time being attention should be concentrated on supplying technical assistance. Countries which must import much of their food, such as Britain, also appeared uneasy about measures which might restrict supplies or raise prices against them.

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THE SOLUTION FOR THIS DIVISION OF INTERESTS lies in recognition of the fact that the problem of overproduction is simply the reverse face of underconsumption. And in choosing Sir John Boyd Orr as director general of FAO for the next two years, the conference picked a man who can be depended upon never to lose sight of this neglected truism. Orr is one of the brilliant group of nutritionists who contributed so much to the success of Britain's war-time food program. Outstanding as a scientist and organizer, he also has a broad social vision. In his first statement as director general he hit hard at "the nineteenth-century economics of scarcity" and declared that FAO's primary objective must be to feed a hungry world able to consume all the food that can be produced. "Finances," he said, "won't stop us. Everything that is physically possible and is desirable is also financially possible." Under such leadership we may hope for international measures which will insure that food is never again deliberately destroyed in one country while people elsewhere die of famine.

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TWO NEW STEPS IN ITS SOCIALIZATION PROGRAM have been announced by Britain's Labor government. All air-transport services and airports used for regularly scheduled traffic are to be state owned and operated, and the huge communications company, Cables and Wireless Limited, is to be nationalized. Neither of these proposals can be called an attack on free enterprise, for both services have been in the hands of monopolies in which the government held a financial interest and over which it exercised at least partial control. In the field of air transport a number of experiments have been made, since commercial flying began, to achieve a satisfactory set-up in Britain for air transport. Both free competition and controlled private monopoly failed to produce really effective services. Shortly before its end the National Government put forward plans for a mixed system, with a publicly owned corporation operating empire and transatlantic services, and the railroads and shipping companies given a participation in companies flying European and South American routes. This scheme was widely criticized and now, in accordance with its election pledge to socialize all forms of public transport, the Labor government has decided that post-war reorganization of air routes must be based on full public ownership.

*

SOCIALIZATION OF COMMUNICATIONS HAD NOT been so clearly indicated by the Labor Party program, but it is certainly a logical step. The Cables and Wireless merger was consummated during the inter-war period under the auspices of a Conservative government. Perhaps the primary motive was to save the cable services, with their imperial and strategic significance, from being put out of business by radio transmission. But a secondary result was the continued payment of interest and dividends on assets which had become obsolete. The acquisition by the government of a minority interest with the right to appoint a director made little apparent difference to the operations and financial workings of the combine. Now that outright acquisition is proposed, the company's board is protesting vociferously that the plan is "impracticable and unworkable," and also "dangerous to the foreign concessions." This is a point of interest to the United States, which has, in fact, been pressing Britain to abandon such concessions as that which gives Cables and Wireless a monopoly of the external communications of Saudi Arabia. On November 19 a conference between America, Britain, and the Dominions on international communications is to be held in Bermuda. Since the British delegation will now be able to approach the problems involved purely from the point of view of national interest, and without regard to the vested interests of private capital, the chances of a satisfactory agreement should be enhanced.

*

THE QUESTION OF MULTI-POWER CONTROL of Japan should hinge on two considerations. First, will it help to kill the roots of aggression in Japan? Second, will it narrow the American-Soviet rift which threatens the rickety structure of international peace? On both scores a five-power council with supervisory authority sitting in Tokyo would be a marked improvement over an advisory council sitting in impotent isolation in Washington. Such a shift would seem to be indicated by Secretary Byrnes's statement of October 31: "We cannot have the kind of cooperation necessary for peace in a world divided into spheres of exclusive influence and special privilege." This is as applicable to Japan as it is to the Balkans. We certainly cannot argue that Australia, China, and Russia have a less lively interest than we in preventing the resurgence of Japanese strength. Their participation should help speed up the process of purging and reorganizing Japan. Further, the presence of these powers in Tokyo would tend to stiffen the American attitude toward the Emperor. The Russians, in particular, might modify our inclination to favor the genteel members of the *Zaibatsu*, the bureaucracy, and the aristocracy and to ignore the democratic possibilities among the more rough-hewn tenant farmers and industrial laborers. It is true that multi-power supervision is more cumbersome than single-power control, but the whole process of international cooperation is complicated and requires patience. The most promising arrangement would be a joint supervisory council with an American chairman, to whom wide discretion should be given.

*

AMERICAN TEACHERS MIGHT BE BETTER OFF in many cases if they went to Japan. For the directive on education issued to the Japanese government by Supreme Allied Headquarters says:

> Teachers and educational officials who have been dismissed, suspended, or forced to resign for liberal or anti-militaristic opinions or activities will be declared immediately eligible for, and if properly qualified will be given preference in, reappointment.
>
> Discrimination against any student, teacher, or educational official on grounds of race, nationality, creed, political opinion, or social position, will be prohibited, and immediate steps will be taken to correct inequities which have resulted from such discriminations.
>
> Students, teachers, and educational officials will be encouraged to evaluate critically and intelligently the content of instruction and will be permitted to engage in free and unrestricted discussion of issues involving political, civil, and religious liberties.

It is enough to make a Texas or New York teacher wonder why Supreme Allied Headquarters can't liberate him too.

*

THE SATISFACTION OF KNOWING THAT VARGAS has at last been put out of office is tempered by news of the prominent role which General Goes Monteiro, Minister of National Defense, played in the Brazilian coup. Of the pro-Nazi Brazilians, whose activities during the war were a cause of constant apprehension to the Allies, Goes Monteiro was perhaps the most conspicuous. It is true that Senhor José Linhares, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who will serve as interim President until elections are held on December 2, has a clean record. It is also reassuring that the chairman of the National Democratic Action, former Foreign Minister Octavio Mangabeira, has flatly denied any parallel with events in Argentina and has described the overthrow of Vargas as a "genuine civic accomplishment." But we are perennially skeptical about Latin America's army-promoted

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"democratic revolutions." *The Nation* had scarcely appeared on the newsstands with a warning against a premature celebration of Perón's downfall, when word came that Perón was already back in office, more powerfully entrenched than before. In the case of Brazil such a quick set-back for the democratic forces is less likely. The elections will probably be held. A democratic reorganization is possible. But we would feel happier—and the Brazilian people would too—if Getulio Vargas had taken along with him his bosom companion of the Hitler hey-day, the ambitious and unscrupulous Goes Monteiro.

Get Our Troops Out of China

THE Navy Day speech of President Truman was inadequate in many respects, but the fundamental principles he enunciated would serve admirably as a basis for making over this country's policy toward China. Take, for example, Point 4: "We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own government by their own freely expressed choice, without interference from any foreign source." The question of democratic rights is one of the main issues in dispute today in China. By and large it is the parties of the left—the coalition of groups making up the Democratic League and the Communists—which have been urging free elections and an extension of civil rights. The Chungking government, while making some concessions, has resisted these basic demands. Yet as Maxwell S. Stewart shows in his article on Hurley's record on another page, the United States has not only failed to back the Democratic League but is using American armed forces to support Chungking in its attempt to establish its authority over the only sections of China where elections of any kind have been held.

It is obvious that the President did not have China in mind when he made his pronouncement; otherwise, he might have expressed some of the points quite differently. But a change in phraseology would not alter the fact that our recent policy in China is incompatible with our protestations of democratic faith. In using the armed forces of the United States to support one side of a domestic quarrel, we are committing the very act we denounce with moral fervor when it occurs in Hungary, Rumania, or Bulgaria. Nor can this conduct be excused on the ground that our intervention is on a minor scale. In addition to the American troops stationed in China at the end of the war, we have dispatched some 50,000 marines to take over control in the partisan-dominated areas of North China and have assembled transport planes from the entire Pacific area to ferry Kuomintang troops into the districts seized by the marines. The United States Seventh Fleet, supported by carrier aircraft, has landed an American-equipped veteran Kuomintang army at Chingwantao, a vital port previously held by the partisans. It is reported that the United States has equipped thirty Chungking divisions for the North China campaign, and American air-force personnel is being recruited for Chiang's army.

While it would be difficult to prove that civil strife would have been avoided if the United States had maintained strict neutrality in China, the assurance of American backing must inevitably have encouraged the Kuomintang militarists to seek a showdown at this time. Without American assistance Chiang had no means of getting his forces north of the Yellow River. His troops are weary of war and, deprived of the prospect of help, he would probably have been willing to accept Communist control of North China rather than risk hostilities. But when it became apparent that, under the guise of disarming the Japanese, American forces could be used to dispute the Eighth Route Army's position in the north, the Kuomintang generals naturally jumped at the opportunity.

The longer our troops remain the more difficult it will be to take them out. An impossible situation has been created by the planting of a number of Kuomintang islands in areas that have long been dominated by the partisans. If the United States insists on maintaining these areas for Chungking, it must be prepared to shoulder the responsibilities of permanent occupation. Each day our soldiers remain increases the danger that American blood will be shed in a war against the Chinese on their own soil, and that the United States will be involved in a situation such as the British faced in Greece a year ago.

This country cannot pull out of China's affairs, but it can use its immense influence to promote unity and encourage democratic tendencies. Two immediate steps should be taken. First and most important is the immediate withdrawal of American troops. Even now this move might check the further spread of civil war in China since Chiang Kai-shek has not formally declared his hand by denouncing the Eighth Route Army leaders as "traitors." The second necessary step is the prompt replacement of Ambassador Hurley by a man of liberal tendencies who will restore the policies pursued by General Stilwell and Ambassador Gauss. Only by prompt action, both diplomatic and military, can we undo the harm our recent course in China has brought about.

Wage-Price Equation

PRESIDENT TRUMAN in his radio speech on wages and prices was obviously attempting to maintain his chosen position in the middle of the road. But it was equally obvious that political and economic pressures were slowly pushing him toward the left. Realization of this fact caused the sharpest outburst of criticism from conservative elements in the press and Congress that he has yet encountered. Accusations that the President was yielding to labor pressure, that he was being taken into camp by the apostles of the "new economy," were freely expressed. The honeymoon period is over, and the hopes that stirred so many reactionary breasts after the death of Roosevelt are fading again. The New Deal, it appears, in spite of setbacks is still vigorous; so much so, indeed, that even diehards are awakening to the horrid truth that it was not just a one-man show but a broad, deep trend in national history.

The last group, perhaps, to accept this fact will be the Congressional reactionaries of both parties. To them the President

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spoke sharply during his broadcast, putting on them responsibility for delaying legislation needed to ease reconversion and provide means to forestall a postwar depression. Two important measures are now stalled in the House of Representatives—the bill increasing the amount and scope of unemployment compensation, which has been put in cold storage by the Ways and Means Committee, and the Murray Full Employment bill, to which the House Expenditures Committee is giving such desultory consideration that Secretary of the Treasury Vinson's suggestion of "filibustering" appears fully justified. Another Congressional move protested by the President was the current attempt to kill the United States Employment Service and leave its functions to the state, although many of them have no machinery for the purpose. As Mr. Truman said, the service will be indispensable in the months ahead, when under the most favorable circumstances unemployment is bound to be heavy.

On the subject of wages the President afforded some disappointment to both sides, but on balance he supported the claims now being put forward by many unions. True, he discouraged proposals for increases in hourly wage rates that would compensate fully for reductions in war-time take-home pay. Nevertheless he emphasized strongly the importance for the whole economy of checking the current shrinkage in the national wage envelope. He pointed out that tax and other concessions to business had provided it with an ample cushion against temporary losses and declared that a great many industries could well afford to give moderate increases in wages without passing the cost on to their customers.

In his arguments for holding the price line while allowing elasticity to wages, Mr. Truman stressed the importance of maintaining volume. Elsewhere in this issue Keith Hutchison discusses the tendency of industry to seek a wage-price equation that positively discourages high production. We are glad to see that the influence of the Administration is being thrown against this practice. The President's generalized statement of the case has been well amplified by Chester Bowles, who pointed out that "in industry after industry we have seen wages and other costs absorbed as volume soared and profits moved to levels several times higher than prewar. We should not underestimate the tremendous extent of the cost savings which will result from the huge volume which lies ahead in peace-time production."

There is, we think, no doubt at all that if industry will go ahead and produce, without damaging its future markets by price increases and pay cuts, before next year is very old it will find present prices quite profitable. In any event the President has offered a safety-net to provide for accidents by giving industries an opportunity to come back to the Office of Price Administration in six months and state their case for increased prices.

Disappointment has been expressed in some quarters because the President failed to produce a "formula" for relating wages and prices. But he can hardly be blamed for this omission since no conceivable recipe would meet the infinite variety of conditions involved. What he did was to define loosely the area within which collective bargaining can now proceed. In general he placed on industry the onus for preventing wage disputes where the union is willing to settle for a moderate advance. On the other hand, his ruling on the price line should serve to restrain labor from pressing demands which employers can prove will involve losses.

In any case, we cannot hope to avoid a considerable number of strikes in the next few months. A trial of strength will probably be necessary in numerous instances before either side is willing to settle. Some employers, as the president of the National Association of Manufacturers has admitted, are in a belligerent mood and consider the times propitious for a showdown which "will teach the unions their place." There are others, fortunately, who seem to appreciate the value of coming to an agreement with their workers and pushing ahead for full production. If in each industry one or two have the sense to follow this line, their competitors may think twice before getting into a prolonged dispute.

There is no need, therefore, to give way to fear of a dark winter of industrial warfare. Judging by the headlines, a wave of strikes swept the country in the past two months, bringing business almost to a standstill. Actually, the Department of Labor's cold statistics tell us, the loss of working time in September occasioned by strikes was 6/10 of 1 per cent. Bearing this in mind, let us keep calm and beware of press campaigns designed to excite panic and pressure Congress into passing hasty and unwise legislation.

Coming in THE NATION

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SAUL K. PADOVER
Solution for Germany

MAURICE ROSENBLATT
Behind the Dock Strike

CAREY MCWILLIAMS
The Education of Colonel Evans Carlson

A NATION Forum on Atomic Power

ONLY a few Americans are ever going to understand the process of releasing the power of the atom; but if civilization is to survive, a lot of Americans will have to understand what its release means and decide how the process can be controlled and eventually used for building a new world instead of annihilating an old one. In 1914, when he first wrote about war waged with atomic bombs, H. G. Wells concluded that only by passing through a period of hideous devastation—the earth's great cities destroyed, millions of people starving and homeless in every country, food supplies and transportation wiped out, and political chaos over all—could mankind learn to live in peace and apply the released energy of the universe to producing wealth and social progress. Perhaps Wells was right. But in this fateful moment of 1945 the peoples of the world are staring with fixed and anxious eyes at the challenge science has flung at their feet. They want to meet and surmount it without subjecting the nations to the teaching of catastrophe. They know that this

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will be possible only if they learn fast and make up their minds soon, and then force their decisions on their leaders.

Americans in particular are called upon to master the problem with the least possible delay, for it is the policy of the United States which in the immediate future will chiefly determine the use of atomic power, its control, and the relations between nations which depend on both. The bills now before Congress have been framed by legislators almost totally illiterate in the field of nuclear science. Their constituents know less than they do. Had it not been for the quick action of the scientists, particularly those associated with the bomb project—action unprecedented in American politics—the May bill would certainly have passed the House almost without discussion, establishing controls which would have throttled scientific progress and set up a dictatorial central authority. It may still go through, amended though not improved; but as the result of mounting public interest and criticism, action in the Senate may be more deliberate and better planned. Hearings will be held before the McMahon Committee on Atomic Control, and opinion will have a chance to make itself felt. It is possible, too, that the visit of Prime Minister Attlee will modify the prevailing, and terrifying, mood of superiority which now dominates our atomic policy —the mood so unctuously expressed in the President's Navy Day speech. A dispatch in this issue from our London correspondent reports the general sentiment in England for international control of atomic processes.

But none of these possibly delaying factors lessens the need of earnest, rapid self-education on the part of the American people. We must study, think, and act. As a contribution to that effort, the Nation Associates is sponsoring a three-day forum to be held at the Hotel Astor in New York on December 1-3 to discuss the questions so urgently pressing upon us: the possibility—and value—of continued secrecy; the effect of American control of the bomb on British-American relations and on British-American relations with Russia; possible methods of international control; the role of business in the production of atomic energy; the impact of atomic energy on the social-economic structure. These are a few of the areas which the forum will explore.

We realize, with regret, that only a fraction of *The Nation's* readers will be able to attend a New York meeting. (It is interesting, however, that already delegations from as far away as Wisconsin and Michigan have notified us of their intention to come.) But after the sessions the speeches and as much as possible of the discussion will be published and distributed to our subscribers and other interested persons, either as a supplement to *The Nation* or as a pamphlet.

On another page of this issue appears an announcement of the dinner which will conclude the forum. It speaks for itself —eloquently, we believe. The earlier sessions, on December 1 and 2, will be described in succeeding issues as the program for each is completed. We can say now, however, that the conference will hear from such other experts in political and physical science as Dr. Henry De Wolf Smyth, author of the official War Department report on the bomb, "Atomic Energy for Military Purposes"; Thomas K. Finletter, lawyer and author of "Can Representative Government Do the Job?"; two distinguished newspaper men, Walter Millis and Edgar Ansel Mowrer, known to everyone for their writing in the field of international affairs; M. J. Coldwell, chairman of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, Canada's socialist party. Some of these men will address the sessions; others will lead the discussion from the floor. And we intend to leave plenty of time for free intervention and questions by the delegates, since this forum will be what the word implies —not a mere series of lectures.

The forum is intended to add to the knowledge and crystallize the opinions of American progressives and so to increase their ability to influence policy in Washington. For this reason we urge all readers within reach of New York to attend every session.

Portents in Egypt

Cairo, November 5 (by cable)

COLONIAL SECRETARY HALL'S grave warning to the Jews after last week's attacks on railway lines and business establishments did not pass unnoticed by the Jews or Arabs. And it is indisputably true that the recent terrorist activity in Palestine, if understandable in view of the extreme irritation over the delay in a decision on Palestine, has damaged the Zionist position in the world. But independent Egypt, where troubles with the most serious implications occurred on Friday and Saturday, does not come within Hall's sphere, and his solemn words were not addressed to Egypt.

On Thursday, the eve of Balfour Day, all the stores in Cairo and Alexandria received a warning signed by the united front of Arab and Moslem organizations threatening destruction if they were not closed by Friday at 10 a. m. A "spontaneous" general strike began on Friday with an orderly student demonstration. But shortly after ten the riff-raff, especially bands of hooligans in their early teens, swarmed from the populous sections toward the center of the city. The reinforced police, seemingly unwilling to disperse the ebullient crowd by force, were finally unable to control the situation. The demonstrations quickly degenerated into anti-Jewish rather than nationalist affairs, ending in indiscriminately anti-foreign, anti-minority disturbances. The latent xenophobia that is always a danger in the Middle East is now flaring up, intensified by the lust for pillage. Dispatches will have carried the details about the synagogues which were sacked, the Jewish and Christian shops which were looted, and the churches which were damaged in the Cairo and Alexandria riots.

If it is thought that the seriousness of these outbreaks is understood and deplored by all responsible Moslems here, the comments in the Arab press are disillusioning. While some papers condemned, others extolled "the glorious day." The Wafdist daily, *Al Misri,* commented: "The feeling of the Arabs was expressed in the most magnificent manner. Yesterday Egypt showed herself brimming with zeal and enthusiasm for the cause of Palestine." Meanwhile the foreign-language press is not hiding its uneasiness. The French *Bourse Egyptienne* said on Saturday evening: "It is impossible to hide the truth: yesterday's events have provoked among the non-Egyptian sections of the population a feeling

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of profound distress. Youths going from store to store used coarse language to intimidate proprietors and employees. There is an intolerable intervention of private associations in public affairs which no government can allow. Investigation and sanctions are imperative in the public interest. For these irresponsible elements, if unchecked, will feel free to proceed from audacity to audacity." The *Egyptian Gazette* said: "There is much talk these days of treaty revision and evacuation of British troops, and it is said that foreign residents have nothing to fear for the future. But when people are forced to close their shops and then have them pillaged, it does not make it easier for those who wish to negotiate." This, of course, is the natural foreign reaction earnestly shared by Christian and Jewish Egyptians. Yet the Wafdist daily *Balagh* did not hesitate to assert: "It is the first gesture of solidarity for the Arab cause in Palestine. Of course the Arab League has already presented many protests, but the Arab League is only an association of states, while the strike the other day was inspired by the feelings of the people. It will serve as a lesson to the Anglo-Americans. They know now that Arab unity is not a vain word."

Recent events in Egypt will disappoint people everywhere who hoped for and believed in the maturity of the Arab world. They are a frightening echo of the events in Syria last May when Frenchmen were massacred by Syrians feeling sure of British protection. It will not pass unnoticed either that in Palestine itself the Jews were not molested.

MICHAEL CLARK

No Homes for Veterans

BY FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR.

(During the war Lieutenant Commander Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., served with distinction in the Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Pacific theaters. He has recently been honorably discharged and is now chairman of the Veterans' Housing Committee for New York of the American Veterans Committee.)

LAST year men slept on the frozen ground in Belgium or stood watch on deck in the freezing winds of the North Atlantic. This year they don't want to sleep on a park bench in the cold of an American winter. Yet we may see them there, and possibly much worse sights, unless immediate action is taken to remedy the housing shortage.

The scarcity of housing has been an acute national problem all during the war years. Now, with service men and women being discharged daily in increasing numbers, the problem has become more critical than ever before. If the situation in New York City can be taken as an index, it has already, even in these early stages of demobilization and reconversion, reached the proportions of a major crisis and even scandal.

For a long time many New York City officials have recognized that some provision would have to be made to bridge the gap between the very little new building and the demand for housing. But while there have been many conferences and a great deal of talk, talk is all the city has done. The men and women who have been discharged or are about to be discharged, who have had all they want of foxholes and now seek homes, are becoming disillusioned, bewildered, and bitter. Today in New York City 20,000 veterans and their families are searching for places to live. With every week that passes their number increases by 3,500. By next summer more than 100,000 veterans and their families will be in need of housing in New York City alone. But nothing has been done to provide homes even for the 20,000 veterans now demobilized and badly in need of a place to live.

Home is probably the most precious thing in the world to a man who endured war. There is hardly a man who didn't spend hours remembering his home, how it used to look, or how it was going to look when he and his wife got a place and bought their furniture. Most soldiers dreamed of a clean little place, all-American, with good plumbing, plenty of heat, a bathtub, and unlimited hot water. But the only places now available in New York City for the veterans are substandard tenement dwellings—cold-water flats where you are lucky to find one toilet for a whole floor instead of one for the whole building out in the backyard, and where the tenant has to heat his water, heat his own apartment, and wage continual war against roaches and rats. Medium-priced and even the highest-priced buildings are fully rented and have waiting lists that don't give the veteran a chance. And even if the veterans were willing to move into the tenements—and they are not willing, I can tell you—there still would not be enough apartments to take care of all of them.

Are returned service men and their families actually going to have to set up housekeeping in pup tents in the parks before the city provides immediate temporary housing as a stop-gap?

Unless something is done quickly, the veterans will become more and more cynical—just what we do not want to happen this time. A man has to have a home before he can look for a job and become again a productive part of community and national life. In even larger aspects, we have learned through grim experience in a global war the dangers inherent in a dissatisfied group which considers itself cheated of its rights.

Recognizing these dangers and the immediate necessity of providing homes for returning veterans, the American Veterans Committee, an organization of World War II service men and women, has taken the lead in action to solve the housing problem in New York and throughout the nation. At a veterans' housing rally sponsored by the A. V. C. on October 24, 1,500 veterans and their families, representing every section of Greater New York, took part in what housing authorities have described as "the biggest, noisiest, and most effective housing meeting to be held in New York City in the last five years." In an open and heated discussion period the veterans and their wives, outspoken, indignant, and passionate, served notice that they want and expect places to

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live. They also elected a Veterans' Housing Committee for New York City, and unanimously passed this resolution:

WHEREAS: Veterans are returning to this city at the rate of 500 a day and confronting the worst housing shortage in the city's history; and,

WHEREAS: prompt, energetic emergency action is necessary to alleviate a situation which is daily growing more scandalous;

Be It Resolved: That the city, in cooperation with Washington housing authorities, undertake immediately to obtain vacated and unused temporary war housing to be made available to veterans within sixty days: We regard this as the one practical and immediate solution to the city's housing crisis;

That the veterans be given priority in the Hunter housing development which is about to be vacated by the navy;

That the director of reconversion, Mr. John Snyder, be urged to reestablish priority controls over construction materials, so that they may be allocated speedily to meet the housing shortage;

That one effective central vacancy-listing bureau be established that would receive notice of all vacancies in the city;

That when such vacancies occur, they be made available to all our citizens regardless of race, creed, or color;

That thanks be expressed to the citizens of New York for their readiness to take into their homes veterans and their families who have not been able to find apartments.

WHEREAS: Temporary housing is a stop-gap solution until permanent housing becomes available; and,

WHEREAS: The present housing shortage is an intensification of a pre-war crisis in which several hundred thousand New York families lived in substandard dwellings;

Be It Resolved: That Congress be urged to pass the Wagner-Ellender bill, which would make possible a maximum of 50,000 new dwelling units in the city;

That we recommend to the citizens of New York that they vote "yes" on Election Day on Proposition 1, which would authorize more state aid in financing public housing projects;

That the state legislature be urged to authorize the appropriation of $80,000,000 of loan funds for public housing;

That continued encouragement be given to insurance companies and banks to enter the field of housing construction; and,

That the Senate Finance Committee be urged to extend rent control beyond June 30, 1946.

The Veterans' Housing Committee for New York City consists of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., chairman; Sgt. Rudolpho Murreigho, A. U. S.; Charles G. Bolté, chairman of the American Veterans Committee; Lt. John Finley, U. S. N. R., and Lt. Comdr. G. W. Hodges, U. S. N. R., both on terminal leave and trying to find homes; George Abo, president of the Manhattan Chapter of the A. V. C.; and Sol Shapiro of the American Legion.

The committee is currently engaged in carrying out the mandate of the 1,500 veterans at the housing rally to consult with officials on the means by which action on the recommendations of the resolution can be expedited. We have attempted repeatedly to see Mayor LaGuardia. As this is being written a letter has just been received from the Mayor saying that he will discuss the veterans' housing problem with

us. In Washington the committee consulted with John B. Blandford, Jr., administrator of the National Housing Agency, Philip M. Klutznick, the federal Public Housing Commissioner, and others, who understand the gravity of the situation.

However, the federal government will not and cannot interfere in local community problems unless the community itself initiates a request for federal assistance. Temporary housing in the form of prefabricated units which were formerly used for war workers' housing is available, and several cities and forty-six universities have already used it to solve their housing problems, but New York City has asked for none. Meanwhile, across the river, Newark's slogan, "Homes for Service Men by Christmas," may be realized, as temporary homes with a capacity of from 7,000 to 8,000 people go up. To receive temporary housing units a city must provide the land and the facilities for the units and, under the existing law, transport the units from their present location to the new location. However, the cost per unit is not large. Further, the Wagner-Ellender bill, now pending in Congress, will permit the government to provide greater financial assistance to states.

The Mayor's objection to temporary housing, voiced on a radio broadcast a few weeks ago, was that such housing was unsuited to New York and that it would take six months at least to set it up. He added that veterans wouldn't live in the dwellings. It is a matter of record that not in six months but in six weeks after the late President Roosevelt was informed that a city for 75,000 persons was needed for work on the atomic bomb, Atom City in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, was ready and open. The veterans themselves, who have built bridges, laid airstrips, and erected buildings, know just how fast buildings can be put up if there is energetic cooperation behind the projects. As one veteran said the other day, "If we could do it in war, there's no reason why it can't be done for us in peace. The housing problem for veterans is an emergency situation." As for priorities on necessary materials, reliable housing authorities maintain that temporary housing could be made ready for service men in thirty to sixty days. Mayor LaGuardia's skill in cutting red tape is well known. If he wished, he could go to Washington tomorrow morning and come back in the afternoon with a go-ahead on all the material that would be needed.

The A. V. C.'s Veterans' Housing Committee recommends that a trial project of 1,000 temporary housing units be undertaken to determine their full value in solving the present crisis. The committee is not asking that temporary hous-

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ing accommodations be made permanent parts of the city, to become eventual slum areas. It proposes a time limit of two to three years so that permanent housing can be given a chance to catch up with demand.

The stage is set. Only one man has to act. The federal government stands ready to help. The Board of Estimate is empowered to appropriate funds to provide dwelling accommodations at once. The City Council has gone on record as willing to pass any remedial legislation offered by the administration and has even urged that the administration give it the legislation. All New York has to do to get housing is for the Mayor to call Washington. That is something he is known to be capable of doing.

This is a critical period for veterans. It is imperative that we secure the minimum essential of life—a home—for the men and women who fought for the life of this nation. It is also imperative that the veterans be made to feel that their government recognizes their problem and is at least doing something to solve it. The public officials of our government have a great responsibility to act in a way that will preserve the faith and confidence of the veteran in the American way of life.

Britain and the Bomb

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

*(*The Nation's *London correspondent)*

London, November 2 (by cable)

THE announcement of Prime Minister Attlee's intention to visit Washington to discuss control of the atomic bomb, coupled with news of a projected large-scale research and development center in this country, evokes mixed feelings in British Labor circles. The idea of personal Truman-Attlee conversations is welcome, but it is regretted, first, that there is no hint of comparable Attlee-Stalin talks later—which are regarded as essential to dispel the suspicion that the British and Americans are in cahoots against the Soviet Union—and, secondly, that the Cabinet seems to have no definite British atomic policy. Serious anxiety is felt here lest the anti-Communist sentiments of the majority of the Cabinet lead to hitching Britain to the American power-politics wagon. Queried in Parliament Tuesday, Morrison did not deny an allegation by Captain Blackburn that the Quebec agreement between Churchill and Roosevelt stipulated that the peace-time developments of atomic energy should be left "very much to the discretion of the United States President." This agreement, it is felt here, is no longer realistic, since, considering the scientists' endeavors, all industrialized states can be expected within a few years to be capable of manufacturing atomic bombs.

Truman's recognition that America's monopoly will be short-lived is thought to explain the puzzling dualism of his Navy Day speech, in which high-minded principles of foreign policy contrasted with an insistence that the United States must maintain huge land and sea forces to support the atomic bomb's power. This part of Truman's speech made a painful impression here. It is pointed out that the Axis powers will be helpless for at least a generation to come, that Russia has been bled white by casualties, that Britain is financially bankrupt. The defensive needs of the United States, therefore, cannot justify the proposed large-scale armaments, and the uncomfortable inference is that Truman was demanding overwhelming United States forces to back up the United States foreign policy, which, it is feared here, is orientated principally against Russia. Inevitably the Russian reaction will be a straining to overtake the American lead in atomic power, and there is no doubt here that the Russian scientists will soon possess the complete know-how. As a result, the world situation resembles a perilous armed truce, with the United Nations Organization an impotent spectator of the rivalry between two continental powers, each unable physically to conquer the other but wielding weapons capable of destroying civilization. This is a miserable prospect for the small nations, whose leadership falls naturally to Britain.

Earnest hopes are therefore entertained that Attlee, anticipating the Washington talk, will take the opportunity offered by the parliamentary debate scheduled for next Wednesday to declare unequivocally that the British government favors placing the development and control of atomic energy exclusively in the hands of the World Security Council. The Council would wield executive power through the agency of a genuinely international military staff, including an office of inspection charged with insuring that no national plants illicitly manufacture the bomb. It is recognized that this would require a real revolution in human thinking—the abandonment of the whole conception that a nation must control its military potential. Acceptance of such a proposal is of course easier for Britain, whose future man-power and economic resources reduce it to a minor power in comparison with Russia and the United States. Russia, inveterately suspicious of the Western democracies, is likely to raise objections to international inspection. And America, rather than make the biggest immediate sacrifice of national power, may ask pointedly, "Would nineteenth-century Britain have consented to surrender its mastery of sea power in favor of an untried international authority?" Nevertheless, opinion here extending far beyond the Labor Party is virtually unanimous that the atomic bomb confronts humanity with a completely new situation which must be handled in a completely new way.

For the first time in modern history a weapon exists the exclusive control of which would make a World Organization, in contradistinction to the old League of Nations, really irresistible. The inescapable choice is between taking a revolutionary forward step to establish the supremacy of a decisively armed international authority and drifting to final catastrophe through the power politics of sovereign states.

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The Myth of Patrick J. Hurley

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

THE outbreak of widespread fighting in China, approximating civil-war conditions, has weakened but not destroyed the remarkable myth that has grown up around Ambassador Patrick J. Hurley. Only a few weeks ago the newspapers were hailing General Hurley—back-slapping oil man turned diplomat—for having at last achieved a settlement between the Chungking government and the Communist regime at Yenan. Some papers even hinted that he had arranged the recent pact between China and Russia. He was credited with having achieved these remarkable feats by means of the typically American qualities of common sense, perseverance, and fair play, with an added dash of high-pressure salesmanship. It was implied that he had succeeded where Stilwell and Gauss had failed because he refused to play politics and was respected by all parties and groups for his straight shooting.

Myths die hard. Although it is now apparent that Hurley's diplomacy failed to bring unity, few Americans realize the extent of his responsibility for the present civil strife. Few recognize the degree to which American prestige in China has been undermined by his activities; few are aware of the menacing international implications of his policies. If people are to understand what has happened in China these past few weeks, the Hurley myth must be exploded. This requires blunt speaking and the disclosure of some facts hitherto hidden by the fog of censorship.

General Hurley was sent to China in August, 1944, with Director of the War Production Board Donald Nelson. Nelson's duties in China were clearly defined. He was to see what could be done to revive China's war industries, which speculation, profiteering, and lack of raw materials had virtually brought to a standstill. Just why Hurley—a Republican who was Secretary of War when President Hoover called out the army against the bonus marchers—should have tagged along with Nelson was not apparent. Representative Judd of Minnesota pointed out at the time that Hurley knew little or nothing about China. When interviewed at Chungking, Mr. Nelson was purposely vague about Hurley's role; he said the General would discuss military problems with Stilwell while he, Nelson, dealt with economic problems.

We now know that President Roosevelt was deeply alarmed lest Chungking collapse completely and hoped that Hurley, as his personal representative, could persuade Chiang Kai-shek to agree to a specific plan for rejuvenating China's military effort. The President authorized Hurley to make three specific proposals: (1) that General Stilwell be made commander-in-chief of all Allied forces in China in order to insure the most effective possible distribution of arms and supplies for the entire theater; (2) that the Chinese army be reorganized and the dead wood in the Chinese high command eliminated; (3) that the war effort of the Kuomintang and Communist armies be unified under Stilwell's command.

Chiang Kai-shek, badly frightened by the rapid Japanese advance in the South, agreed to these proposals. It looked as if the Hurley mission would succeed; at that moment China was nearer unity than at any other period. But then, suddenly, everything fell to pieces. Stilwell laid down the law to Chiang about storing up American arms for domestic purposes instead of using them against the Japanese. Chiang angrily demanded Stilwell's recall, and Hurley, hoping to save his mission and ignoring both the merits of the issue and Stilwell's unique competence, backed the Generalissimo. *Newsweek* quotes Hurley as saying: "Joe, I have only two stars to your four, but I'm going to tell Washington one of us has to leave here."

Convinced from long experience in China that Hurley's ready acquiescence in Chiang Kai-shek's demand had hopelessly weakened America's position in China, Ambassador Gauss submitted his resignation. Thus without achieving the purposes for which he was sent to China, Hurley had managed in a few short weeks to deprive the United States of the services of two exceptional men. Stilwell's military genius and understanding of the Orient have earned him a secure place among the great leaders of the war. Ambassador Gauss is much less widely known, but in retrospect the fact that he could quietly win and hold the respect of all Chinese groups during the difficult years after Pearl Harbor marks him as a man of outstanding ability.

At this point a more sensitive man than Hurley would have resigned and returned to private life. But Hurley is no shrinking violet. Pride rather than sensitiveness is his chief characteristic. He could not admit failure, even to himself. In consequence one of the most bizarre chapters in the history of American diplomacy now opened. Essentially, it was concerned with the efforts of one man—a clever, energetic, domineering man—to salvage his personal pride.

One hears many stories about the General's vanity. When he was named ambassador to China, Hurley was placed on inactive status in the army, and though he retained his rank, was not entitled to wear his uniform in performing civilian duties. But he could not lay aside those two stars. He continued to wear his uniform until specifically ordered not to do so, an order that had to be backed up by President Roosevelt before it stuck. Another incident is as characteristic. Shortly after he was installed in Chungking, Hurley arranged for a specially designed Cadillac, a super-deluxe model, to be flown in from India for his personal use. Just how he arranged it is not clear. He told the State Department that it was a gift from the army, and for purposes of face told Yenan that it had been presented to him by the President. For a time he retained an army sergeant as chauffeur, but the sergeant was later withdrawn and his successor, a Chinese chauffeur, rapidly rendered the car unfit for use. Interestingly enough, the *World-Telegram,* an ardent Hurley supporter, admitted this love of display in the General when it predicted, long before the incident of the Cadillac, that he

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would soon be riding down the streets of Chungking in a rickshaw "with a fringe on the top . . . and a dashboard of gen-u-ine leather."

One of Hurley's most serious diplomatic weaknesses is a direct outgrowth of his amazing vanity. Although Gauss and his predecessor were fully as anxious as Hurley to further unity in China, their code of diplomatic behavior impelled them to work quietly in the background. Long experience had convinced them that active intervention in negotiations would not only be resented but would probably, in view of the subtlety of Oriental bargaining, impede a real settlement. Hurley possessed no such inhibitions. Undismayed by his initial setback, he took upon himself the task of acting not merely as an intermediary but as a principal in an effort to obtain a Kuomintang-Communist agreement. It is reported that some of the final negotiations took place at the embassy and that Hurley insisted on drafting sections of the pact.

A certain amount of intervention in Chinese internal affairs could be justified by war-time necessity. If the war had followed a different course, unification of Chinese armed forces might have saved many American lives. But successful intervention requires great skill and delicacy. These traits, unfortunately, are lacking in the Oklahoma oil man's make-up. At the very outset he discarded his one real ace—the bargaining power inherent in America's vast economic and military potential—and tried to win the jackpot by sheer bluff. Instead of following the Stilwell—and Roosevelt—policy of distributing American supplies where they would be used most effectively against Japan, Hurley gratuitously announced that American support would be given exclusively to the Kuomintang—on the ground that Chungking was the one "legal" government in China. Fortified by this assurance, Chiang Kai-shek saw no need for further concessions to Yenan. The negotiations that had been under way for some months were soon terminated. Hurley's second effort to obtain an agreement failed as completely as the first.

Hurley has tried to give the impression that despite the favoritism he showed toward Chiang Kai-shek he has been on excellent terms with the Communist leaders. This has been asserted repeatedly in the American press. Did he not make a special journey to Yenan to escort Mao Tse-tung to the final Chungking negotiations? The Communists' opinion of Hurley, however, has been clearly stated by the Yenan radio on several occasions. One broadcast declared that in aiding Chungking exclusively Hurley had sacrificed the "honor of democratic America" and encouraged civil war. Off the record the Communists charge Hurley with duplicity and unconcealed partisanship. They accuse him of making promises which he had no intention of keeping and of turning over to Chiang Kai-shek vital military information which they had furnished him in confidence. Although Mao Tse-tung chose Hurley as an escort to Chungking rather than risk kidnaping by the Kuomintang, he pointedly refused to accept Hurley's hospitality in Chungking. Nor is Hurley trusted by the center parties that make up the Democratic League. Obsessed by the notion that the Kuomintang is the only bulwark against communism, he has ignored the attempts of various moderate groups to democratize China's governmental machinery.

Vanity may also explain Hurley's high-handed methods with his staff and compatriots. Among his Foreign Service assistants were several unusually intelligent young men who spoke Chinese fluently and had had years of experience grappling with Chinese political problems. These men protested against his abandonment of America's bargaining position and his partiality for Chiang's reactionary regime, and Hurley was too thin-skinned to suffer their criticism. He struck back by purging his staff of all men with long experience in China. He ordered also that all policy reports to the State Department be routed through his office, and by this action deprived the department of its normal sources of unbiased information. To prevent criticism of his policies from reaching the American public, Hurley extended his control to American correspondents, screening them for political reliability and restricting their movements. After years of effort the correspondents had gained permission from the Chungking government to visit Yenan. Hurley quickly saw to it that this permission was revoked and that most of the diplomatic and military observers stationed in Communist territory were withdrawn. The result has been a virtual blackout on reliable information from that area during the past year. General Wedemeyer, who replaced Stilwell, has generally supported Hurley's policies, but the two are reported to have had a first-class row over the favorable reports sent to Washington by some of the army officers stationed in Yenan. Only Roosevelt tact prevented a major crisis. As the story was told by Hurley to a group of Congressmen, the President greeted him on one of his visits to Washington with the remark: "Well, Pat, they tell me that you are busy writing a book out there entitled 'Alone in China.' " Strangely enough, Hurley felt complimented.

Before the end of the war the worst that could be said of Hurley's policies was that they hindered Chinese unity and thus prevented China from pulling its full weight in the struggle against Japan. After Japan's surrender, Hurley's desire to strengthen Chungking was translated into active military intervention, which encouraged the irreconcilable elements within the Kuomintang to press for an immediate showdown. Although during the war Hurley had opposed sending American military aid to North China on political grounds, he had no compunction about sending American marines to aid American-convoyed Kuomintang troops in occupying the chief cities of North China before they could be seized by the Communists. Earlier, Kuomintang troops had been flown to Nanking and Shanghai to keep those cities from falling into Communist hands. And today the United States navy is being used to transport Kuomintang troops to Manchuria so that the reds will not control that immensely rich area. As *Time*, an ardent supporter of the Hurley policies, bluntly stated it: "The U. S. was underpinning its energetic diplomacy with the sword . . . time and the full might of the U. S. in China were working . . . for . . . Chiang."

By thus intervening in behalf of the Kuomintang Hurley has lost his third, and what seemed a few weeks ago his best, opportunity to settle the Kuomintang-Communist dispute. A short time after Russia and China signed their treaty of friendship and alliance a Moscow newspaper carried a discreet article urging that a unified democratic government be set up in China. This was generally interpreted, as was

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no doubt intended, as a gentle reminder that Russia expected Chiang Kai-shek to widen the base of his government and institute democratic reforms in exchange for the return of Manchuria and Soviet economic assistance. The Chiang-Mao negotiations followed this prompting, and a basic settlement might have resulted if the Kuomintang leaders had not received a windfall in the form of American military assistance. With the assurance of American backing, explicitly promised on several occasions by both Wedemeyer and Hurley, the Kuomintang militarists have not hesitated to plunge the country into civil war.

Although the decision to back Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists was arrived at by Hurley against the judgment of experienced foreign-service officials in China and of the Far Eastern Division of the State Department, it can hardly be attributed solely to ambassadorial vanity. Political as well as personal factors undoubtedly played a decisive role. The same kind of power politics is being played in China as in Poland, Rumania, Greece, and the South Pacific. Apparently Hurley, like many conservative Americans, is under the illusion that Chiang Kai-shek's forces, with American aid, can be made to serve as a buffer against Russia. Yenan, of course, cannot be used in that way. In any event, Russia-haters have aligned themselves firmly behind Hurley's policies in the belief that they offer the only method of curbing Soviet influence in Asia. This judgment, however, is not justified by the facts. Unbiased military observers believe that Chiang's forces would be more of a liability than an asset in any defense of China against the powerful Red Army. China is immensely war weary. The conscripts in Chiang Kai-shek's armies have but one desire—to go home at the earliest possible moment. Only a few divisions, mostly American trained, can be depended on as an effective military force.

Nor is Hurley justified in assuming that with Russian interference ruled out by the Sino-Soviet pact the Kuomintang, aided by the United States, can easily overcome the Communists. If Chungking attempts to suppress the Communists and establish its power in Manchuria, the Soviet Union may well regard the incursion as a breach of the understanding upon which the treaty was founded. Russia agreed to recognize Chinese sovereignty over Manchuria, but it did not necessarily agree to recognize the authority of the present Chungking regime in this vital area.

The plain fact is that Chungking's authority in vast sections of China can be supported only by American arms. If the United States wants to maintain its influence in China it must choose between two courses: continuous intervention and the use of a permanent army of occupation, or a return to the Stilwell-Gauss policy of encouraging and assisting all Chinese groups—the left Kuomintang, the Democratic League, and the Communists—that are seeking to establish a functioning democracy in China. Only a China that is democratic can be counted on to align itself with the democratic aspirations of the American people.

Hurley's choice is clear. His China would be a puppet China, bolstered by American arms and patrolled by American troops. Is that the choice of the American people?

A Lecture to Liberals

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

(*Professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary and contributing editor of* The Nation)

LIBERALISM may mean so many different things to different people that one doesn't quite know whether one desires or deserves to belong to the group known as liberals. A fair degree of agreement is found, however, on one distinctive mark of liberalism, conceived not as a creed but as a spirit. Liberalism, it is generally conceded, seeks to deal with the problems of the community with some degree of objectivity. It makes a conscious effort to redress the balance when the scales have been weighed down by party passion or private interest.

A large section of American liberalism has failed to meet this test of the liberal spirit. It has been engulfed by the passions of war and corrupted by the immense self-righteousness and sense of power of a victorious nation. It has aggravated, rather than mitigated, the passions of war, particularly those which swirl about in the chaos of the war's aftermath, having lost their proper object and therefore their creative function. This indictment requires a bill of particulars, which I give below.

1. Enemy nations are always appraised in war time in terms which suggest their total and congenital depravity. The passions of conflict lead to such judgments, and they are made plausible by the seeming unanimity on moral questions in the enemy nation, as glimpsed behind the battle line and the wall of censorship. If the enemy nation is governed tyrannically, the plausibility of such judgments is increased. When the battle is over, however, the full complexity of the moral and political life of the enemy nation is revealed. No nation, not even one so deeply corrupted as Germany was, is without its residual sources of health and sanity. It is the business of liberalism to restore discriminate judgment, which is all the more necessary because criminal nations cannot be executed or imprisoned for life, as are confirmed individual criminals. For our own sake and for the sake of the world's health, we must find in the defeated nations elements upon which can be based the new structure of their life and of our common life with them. Liberal journalists, nevertheless, have regarded "Germans" from the standpoint of an inverted racial theory and allowed themselves indiscriminate judgments about the "sullenness" or the "cravenness" of Germans; frequently they have formed these judgments without knowing enough of the German

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language to make direct contact with Germans. A friend just returned from Germany writes: "There are innumerable Germans of proved and profound anti-Nazi convictions who have never been seen by our journalists or our army intelligence people. Neither have sufficient knowledge of the German past to identify these men or the linguistic ability to talk with them. Even a brief conversation with Germans proves that it is not an absence of a sense of guilt which is their problem but a sense of guilt so overwhelming that it threatens to engulf them."

2. Victorious nations are naturally inclined to suggest that the peace of tomorrow will be threatened primarily by the foe who threatened it yesterday. Yet it might be put down as axiomatic that the chief peril to the peace of tomorrow lies in the difficulty of maintaining the alliance which gained the victory. Efforts to maim a vanquished foe, already rendered impotent by total defeat, are unnecessary if the alliance of victors is stabilized, and may become futile if the alliance fails. In the former case the present impotence of the defeated nation is sufficient to prevent further aggression. In the latter case the victorious powers will compete with each other in an effort to arm the vanquished nation, the one side against the other. Frantic efforts to guarantee the peace by maiming the beaten enemy can therefore have only short-range efficacy. Yet a section of our liberal press has filled the air with its apprehensions that we have failed to destroy the political and economic power of the foe with sufficient completeness. It has not analyzed critically the social consequences of the forced migration of Germans from the ceded parts of the Reich to the overcrowded and economically chaotic regions that remain.

3. Though nothing could be clearer than that there is no dividing line between war potential and general industrial potential, part of the liberal press speaks glibly of destroying Germany's war potential, and periodically accuses the army of not being vigorous enough in carrying out this policy. Meanwhile General Eisenhower insists that we must send food to Germany in order to prevent starvation; and if we are not careful we shall have the permanent task of financing out of our own pocket the importations of food necessary to an industrially developed nation like Germany. We may even refuse to allow the manufacture of the agricultural machinery which is required to maintain the highest level of agricultural production. Nevertheless, a large section of the liberal press not only takes ex-Secretary Morgenthau's angry economics seriously but tries to make the Potsdam agreement conform to his theory even more consistently than was intended. Our complete control of the German economy enables us to prevent the manufacture of any instruments of war for years to come without the kind of wholesale destruction now proposed. If we follow the policy of destruction we shall increase the economic chaos in Europe, and the hard sentimentalities of the moment will give way to softer sentimentalities when the cry of the hungry is heard. We are not Nazis, and the instincts of humanity will finally prevent us from doing what we now intend.

4. Russia knows what it wants from Germany. It wants to relate the section it controls—and if possible all of Germany—to its political and economic purposes. We do not know what we want, and our lack of policy tends to create both an economic and a political vacuum in Central Europe. This is not to our interest, nor will it lead to a stable peace. A section of liberalism is estopped from making a critical analysis of this problem by its "fellow-traveler" proclivities. Any responsible analyst of world affairs knows that we must find a basis for a stable accord with Russia. But it is stupid to imagine that we can find one only by accepting the policy of the Soviet Union as unwaveringly virtuous and prohibiting all critical discussion of the Potsdam agreement.

5. A section of the liberal press is tempted to compound liberal idealism with an imperial sense of power. It wants the forces of occupation to be as large as possible, and periodically lectures our commanders on how to force democracy upon our foes. It has done little to illumine the fact that military organizations, designed for military combat, are ill prepared to deal with the political complexities of defeated nations. The general tendency of the military mind to prefer "law and order" to any ferment of democracy should persuade liberals that it is important to transfer our authority as quickly as possible to civil officers, who should exercise it with such restraint as to allow responsible government to emerge. We can, by our power, remove the most obvious sources of corruption in enemy nations, but we cannot rebuild these nations in our image by our power. We are unable to do this, not only because there are limits to the efficacy of alien power and limits to the political imagination of military men, but also because there are contradictory impulses in the democracy which informs our life. We are not certain whether we want democracy for our defeated foes, or whether we want to prevent them from having a more radical democracy than the wealthiest nation on earth allows itself. A genuine liberalism would deal more critically with our own political complexities and contradictions as they impinge upon the life of the nations we have vanquished, and would not regard our power as the undefiled fountain source of democracy in the world.

6. In dealing with the problem of bringing individual leaders among our foes to trial some liberals have shown no understanding of the obviously limited capacity of a court of victors to render judgments which will commend themselves to the vanquished as just. They seem to have forgotten that American, or even Allied, judgments are not the judgments of a universal mind, though our omnipotence may tempt us to think they are. Thus liberals were almost unanimous in demanding that the Emperor of Japan be tried as a war criminal. The statesmen of the world were in this case wiser and more modest than liberal journalists and commentators. The Emperor of Japan is only the apex of a feudal-reactionary social system which must be destroyed. There is evidence that in the immediate issues of the war the imperial house tried, however vainly, to restrain the fanatic militarists. But even if this were not the case, it is politically stupid to imagine that we could hasten the democratization of Japan by such means. Leaders in both enemy nations have committed criminal acts which have so far defied both their own best standards and our own that we can bring those criminals to justice without having our par-

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tial judgments, as victors, too much impugned. To take the position that leaders of enemy nations are criminals because they opposed us is to allow the megalomania of a very powerful nation to distort our sense of justice.

Unfortunately we do not have an organized world, and do not yet possess completely impartial instruments of justice. We must do the best we can to punish those who have defied the most widely accepted standards of humanity. We shall be the more successful if we do not attempt or claim too much, and if we remember that the decisions of men and nations who "are judges in their own case" are viewed with considerable cynicism by those who are too weak to defy such judgments.

Liberals have generally hailed Justice Jackson's achievement in establishing, as one standard of justice for the international court, the definition of aggressive war as a criminal act. The Russians had the honesty to resist this idea for a while, knowing that it made them guilty in the case of Finland. They finally yielded, probably having decided to make this not too costly concession to Anglo-Saxon cant. More Nazi criminals than we can ever execute are guilty of the most obvious crimes against generally accepted standards of humanity. Why, then, should we engage in the dubious business of making a war of aggression an ex post facto crime, before the world has been organized upon a basis of universal law and before an international community has set up instruments for assessing guilt?

We have lived, and may still be living, in a state of international anarchy. Under such conditions some wars are more overtly aggressive than others; the war just ended certainly placed our foes in the category of overt aggressors. But all wars are expressions of the anarchy in which the nations live; and a vanquished nation is always able to satisfy its own conscience that it was prompted by the necessity of meeting covert aggression with overt action. It will be less inclined to do so if the victors refrain from too simple and too self-righteous judgments.

On this as on every issue under discussion American liberalism has failed to exercise the kind of restraint upon the pride of powerful and victorious nations which it is the traditional function of liberal intelligence to exercise. Such restraint is desperately necessary at the present moment as we move with unaccustomed and untried power into the complexities of world politics.

Revolt in Asia: II—Indonesia

BY ANDREW ROTH

(Author of "Dilemma in Japan")

SIGNS have a mocking quality in sweltering, tense Batavia. Splashed high on the buildings in large, clear letters are excerpts from the Declaration of Independence, the Gettysburg Address, and other stirring American protests against the servitude of man to man. But in the streets hostile Indonesians see trucks on which the letters "U. S. A." have just been painted over carrying Netherlands soldiers clad in American uniforms and nervously fingering American-made guns.

A train pulling out of the Batavia station bears a more contemporary slogan: "We don't want a second Dutch treat!" The feeling behind it is grim rather than humorous, for even through the bloody veil of the recent Japanese occupation the Indonesians remember that the Dutch have always considered the Indies a *bedrijf*, or business concern, to be exploited as efficiently and profitably as possible. Before the Japanese invasion three-fourths of the total capital investment in the fabulous Indies—the world's second richest colony—was in the hands of the Dutch. And from this investment was derived a profit amounting to more than a fifth of the Netherlands' national income. In bitter contrast the vast majority of the 72,000,000 Indonesians were ill fed and ill housed on their average wage of 20 cents a day.

Dutch political administration was authoritarian and paternal. Laws and decrees emanated from one man—the Governor General. The carefully stacked *Volksraad*, or People's Council, was a debating chamber which could criticize but not control. Indonesian petty officials governed the native population through an ingenious system of indirect control of native institutions. These officials, kept loyal by handsome salaries, were given the duty of collecting taxes so that the Indonesian masses would not feel directly the weight of Dutch demands. The Dutch encouraged such manifestations of native culture as Balinese dancing, but their educational policy was utterly colonial: after 350 years of their rule the illiteracy rate in the islands was 92 per cent. They were not so race-conscious as most European colonial administrators, and intermarriage with Indonesians was condoned and even favored. But this liberal attitude had its origin in the need for enlarging the governing class. Eurasians were given the status of Europeans so that they might be set off against their pure Indonesian relatives, who had no citizenship rights.

During the past thirty years Dutch rule has been challenged with increasing fervor and strength by the swelling ranks of Indonesian nationalists. Roughly speaking, the nationalist movement has three main streams. One group favors a moderate, gradualist approach, with emphasis on native education and on slow progress toward independence in collaboration with the Dutch authorities. Another group is inspired by religious nationalism. Indonesia is 85 per cent Moslem, and the powerful Moslem nationalist organizations ask their followers as Indonesian colonials to resist Dutch imperial rule and as Moslems to rise against the Christian "infidels." The Moslem leaders look to the Islamic world for support in their struggle. A third group of all-out, non-religious nationalists embraces both middle-class elements and left-wing workers. Its leaders are drawn largely from the intelligentsia, but its

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mass support is furnished by the burgeoning trade unions, peasant organizations, cooperatives, and women's and youths' groups.

The turbulence that marked the early twenties culminated in widespread insurrectionary outbreaks in 1926 and 1927. In February, 1933, the Indonesian crew of the Seven Provinces, the flagship of the Dutch navy in the Indies, staged a mutiny. The Dutch responded by further curtailment of liberties. Thousands of the rebellious natives were arrested and sent to concentration camps in New Guinea and Banda, where the sea, the jungle, and the malarial swamps took the place of barbed wire. The secret police was strengthened, and all workers, particularly those in factories, were fingerprinted. Censorship of the press was tightened, and no outdoor meetings were allowed without a special permit. In one instance the police declared an indoor nationalist meeting illegal on the excuse that the roof had holes and was therefore open to the sky!

Dr. Soekarno

Despite these repressive measures nationalism continued to grow. In 1941 some five million nationalists of all varieties united in the *Madjlis Rakjat Indonesia* (Supreme People's Movement of Indonesia). The movement had its own newspapers, a news agency, Antara, and a national song, "Indonesia Raya."

During the late thirties Japan's consuming interest in the oil, bauxite, and other wealth of the Indies and its evident intention to drive southward focused interest on the problem of the defense of Indonesia. A narrow fringe of the nationalists succumbed to Japan's blandishments, but the majority recognized that Japan offered only another and more virulent form of imperialism. The Batavian Students' Federation sent ambulances to the Chinese victims of Japanese aggression. Indonesian delegates to the second World Youth Congress, held at Vassar in 1938, strongly supported its anti-fascist program. The *Madjlis Rakjat Indonesia* demanded that the people of Indonesia be armed and that the nationalists be given responsible posts in the government to insure mobilization of the people for the defense of Indonesia. The Dutch refused and tightened security restrictions against both the Indonesians and the Japanese. After the fall of Holland to the Germans in 1940, the Indies were put under complete martial law. All nationalist meetings were forbidden, nationalist leaders were arrested, nationalist newspapers were closed down. When Japan attacked the islands in 1942, the Dutch forces, unsupported by popular mobilization, were quickly overwhelmed.

The Japanese conquest substituted economic rape for Holland's systematic economic exploitation. Pressing military needs and the consuming avarice of the militarists and *Zaibatsu* monopolists resulted in ruthless looting of the country and despoiling of the people. Soon the food and clothing shortage became acute. Men were pressed into labor gangs and women dragged off to the horrors of Japanese army brothels.

The Japanese sugar-coated their ruthless economic spoliation with slippery promises of political independence. In Sumatra they found Dr. Achmed Soekarno, the leading figure of the nationalist movement. Soekarno had been arrested by the Dutch in 1940 for the third time and exiled to Sumatra. Although he had adequate reason to hate the Dutch, there is no indication that he was in any sense pro-Japanese. Indeed, the Dutch admit that he asked them to evacuate him from Sumatra because of his anti-Japanese record. The Dutch, however, decided to leave him to the tender mercies of the invaders, who offered him an important post if he would cooperate and may well have threatened him with a dire fate if he would not. The well-known intellectual Dr. Susilo and two hundred other prominent Indonesians who refused to collaborate were killed by the Japanese.

Soekarno's assumption of the presidency of the Java Central Council in 1942 initiated a period of uneasy and mistrustful collaboration. The Japanese exerted pressure on the nationalists to provide economic and political support; the nationalists insisted that the Japanese pay off on the promise of independence which they dangled before the people. Indonesian nationalists claim that Soekarno, under the very nose of the Japanese secret police, began organizing guerrilla bands as early as 1943, telling the Japanese the bands would be used to resist Allied landings. Radio Tokyo admitted that Japanese-trained Indonesians had fired on Japanese forces "by mistake." As the Japanese faced defeat in the first half of 1945, they were forced to yield more and more to the nationalists in the hope of gaining military support.

The capitulation of the Japanese in August, 1945, immediately brought a nationalist uprising; the Indonesian Republic was established on August 17. The Japanese dropped the reins and allowed the nationalists their head, knowing that the results could only be embarrassing to the victorious Allies. In an incredibly brief time the Indonesians dominated Java and began to operate the public services and to arm Indonesian troops with weapons seized from the Japanese. Three radio transmitters and the nationalist paper *Merdeka* blared both anti-Dutch and anti-Japanese propaganda. Indonesian seamen on Dutch ships struck in ports all over the world. In the islands the movement acquired such momentum that Soekarno and other leaders frequently seemed to be borne along on it rather than to be directing it. They have found it hard to control young racial-minded Moslem fanatics, who, incited probably by the Japanese, are trying to start a "holy war" against Dutch and Eurasian "infidels."

The Indonesian National Committee, the high command of the nationalist forces, is dominated by Holland-educated Socialist intellectuals led by Vice-President Dr. Mohammed Hatte. The left is represented by Raden Iwa Koesoema Soemantri, Minister of Social Affairs. Soemantri was Indonesia's delegate to the Comintern in 1925, studied at the Eastern Peoples' University in Moscow, and is the author of "The Peasants' Movement in Indonesia." Soekarno himself holds no very clear-cut politico-economic views. At least one or

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two members of the committee have clean records of resistance to the Japanese.

The nationalists are making a strenuous effort to capture world opinion and isolate the Dutch. Soekarno has invited the Indian leader Pandit Nehru, Foreign Minister Evatt of Australia, Mme Chiang Kai-shek, and General Carlos Romulo to visit Indonesia and judge conditions for themselves. Dr. Hatte has demanded that Dutch troops be withdrawn until the question of Indonesian independence can be reviewed by a competent United Nations committee.

Large sections of the colonial and labor worlds have responded. In Singapore 7,000 dock workers paralyzed the port in sympathy. Transportation of Dutch soldiers, armaments, officials, bullion, and records was seriously delayed by a series of Australian strikes. Nineteen Australian trade unions refused to load, repair, or supply ships destined to suppress the Indonesian nationalist movement. Chinese and Indian seamen joined striking Indonesians in refusing to man them.

The reaction to all this on the part of the Dutch has been compounded of fear, fury, and frantic disagreement. They know that Indonesian independence would convert Holland into a third-rate power and bring to an end tens of thousands of profitable colonial jobs. They see Indonesian graduates of Dutch prisons in positions of power and daring to disbelieve Queen Wilhelmina's 1942 pledge of eventual dominion status. They feel a growing sense of frustration at having to rely on British forces and American equipment. And they disagree violently among themselves on how to regain their empire. The stiff-necked aristocrat Jonkheer van Stargenborgh Stachouwer resigned as Governor General of the Netherlands East Indies in protest against negotiations with the nationalists. More farsighted colonial officials admit the necessity of negotiating and concede that the Indies should obtain dominion status in twenty or thirty years. These, however, are attacked as "leftists" or publicly contradicted.

When he first landed in Java, Sir Alexander Christison, commander of the British occupation forces, declared somewhat surprisingly that it was not the British intention to pull Dutch chestnuts out of the fire. Because of their own difficulties with Moslems elsewhere, the British were inclined to be conciliatory with the Javanese Moslems, particularly in view of nationalist strength, the weakness of available Allied forces, and the explosive potentialities of the entire colonial situation. "You must meet with these chaps and give them a clear-cut statement of future status," Sir Alexander said to Dutch officials. Subsequently, in fear of the spread of the nationalist contagion and eager to weld their Western European bloc, the British became friendlier to the Dutch. "To support—or tolerate—local nationalist movements in this hour of confusion would lose Britain the friendship of its nearest neighbors," the influential London *Economist* asserted.

American policy in Indonesia has been characterized by the *Hindustan Times,* published by Gandhi's son, as "utter moral cowardice." When Soekarno protested against the use of American equipment to suppress the Indonesian independence movement, Secretary of State Byrnes suggested only that American labels be removed from the equipment. This seemed a far cry from the ringing words of President Roosevelt in April, 1943: "We know that the day of the exploitation of the resources and the people of one country for the benefit of any group in another country is definitely over."

In the Wind

EDUCATION: The University of Minnesota is offering a course in scientific and technical Russian. The prospectus says, "The publication of numerous important scientific contributions in Russian makes it essential for scientists in this country to have at least some rudimentary reading knowledge of the Russian language."

GUIDANCE: "My point is," said Paul Mallon in a discussion of the atomic bomb on October 9, "we should not be guided politically by scientific advice."

BARGAIN BASEMENT: The United Ships Corporation, New York, has Canadian corvettes for sale. "For a minimum of $29,000 each," says an advertisement, "in quantities of ten, we offer you these famous vessels costing originally over $650,000 each."

FORTISSIMO: *Editor and Publisher's* special supplement on syndicated columns lists Dorothy Thompson's "On the Record" under Music.

POPULARIZATION: Hearst's San Francisco *Call-Bulletin* of October 6 announced serialization of Sinclair Lewis's "Cass Timberlane" "in easy-to-read picture-strip form."

TEAM! TEAM! TEAM! A chapter of the Alumni Association of Georgetown University has been established in Tokyo.

SACRIFICE: The Combined Resources and Production Board announced on October 20 that per capita purchases of civilian goods and services in the United Kingdom fell 15 to 20 per cent below the 1938 level during the war, but in the United States and Canada rose 10 to 15 per cent.

O. C. S.: "Chicago department stores," said the *Wall Street Journal* of October 25, "don't know what to do about former salesmen who went into the services and became captains, majors, and lieutenant colonels. 'You can't expect them to be happy selling socks or shirts,' says one merchant. The stores feel kind of cheated, too. They say it was their training that taught the salesmen how to sell themselves along the road to success in uniform."

EXPLANATION: H. R. Cullen, chairman of the board of regents of the University of Houston, Texas, in an address on October 19 said the trouble with the country "is a misunderstanding, not between capital and labor, for we are all capitalists, for to own a house, a cow, a farm, a home, is to be in possession of capital; so the misunderstanding must be between the masses of people and corporations."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Who's Killing What Goose?

MR. TRUMAN'S broadcast homily to capital and labor on the restraint of appetites, will not, I fear, end the present wage-price deadlock and usher in an era of industrial peace. The President declared that full maintenance of war-time wage incomes would not be possible and warned labor not to press its claims too far lest it kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. On the other hand, he reminded business that its prosperity depended on a broad market for its wares and pointed out that reduced pay envelopes must serve to restrict demand. There was, he suggested, a margin available, at least in many industries, to provide a moderate increase in wages without a corresponding rise in prices.

This statement, while bestowing a partial blessing on present wage demands, does not carry us much nearer a solution to the problem of what wages industry can afford to pay. Clearly, no short and easy answer is possible, for industries vary markedly in their circumstances. But one thing is certain —unless business as a whole accepts price levels predicated on the employment of a high proportion of their productive capacity, post-war prosperity is going to be short-lived.

What does a corporation like General Motors mean when it insists that it cannot pay a 30 per cent increase in basic wage rates if it is denied the right to raise prices? Does it mean that, no matter how many cars it sells, it will lose money; or does it mean that its margin of profit on a low output will be reduced below what it considers a reasonable amount? In the brief presented by the United Automobile Workers to support its current claims against General Motors, a number of estimates are offered to show how the company's profits vary with volume. Given 1942 model prices and an increase of 15 per cent in material costs over 1941, production, it is suggested, would reach the break-even point at only 29 per cent of capacity, at present wage rates. If wages were raised 30 per cent, the break-even point would be 40 per cent. In other words, profits would begin to accrue at a very modest production level.

I cannot vouch for the accuracy of these figures, for although they have obviously been carefully prepared by experts, only General Motors itself has all the necessary data on costs, and it guards its secrets tenaciously. But even if there is a 25 per cent error—making the real break-even point, after a 30 per cent wage increase, about 50 per cent of capacity—General Motors' position appears amply protected without any increase in prices. For it must be remembered that once the break-even point has been passed, profits increase much faster than production. This is because the biggest factor in costs in a mass-production industry is overhead charges, and the more units that are produced the more thinly these costs are spread.

Not unnaturally, every business seeks to keep its break-even point as low as possible by setting a price which will enable it to avoid losses even if demand proves disappointing, and which will allow a rising margin of profit if sales are large. Reporting to the War Production Board earlier this year, sixty-five industries provided estimates of post-war capacity and the production level at which they would break even; sixty-one of them placed this point at less than 80 per cent of capacity, fifty-one at less than 70 per cent, thirty, including automobiles, at less than 60 per cent, and fourteen at less than 50 per cent.

Price-makers who aim at low break-even points automatically limit the market by attacking purchasing power at both ends. By keeping wages at lower levels and fixing prices at higher ones than would be justified by capacity or near-capacity production they reduce the incomes and inhibit the spending of those groups whose buying is essential to sustain the demand for mass-produced goods.

General Motors and other firms in a similar position claim, however, that they cannot anticipate the profits of high production. In the present situation, as *Business Week* of October 27 explained, they "want to wait and see what labor's post-war efficiency will be and how much volume it can produce. If industry rises to the level the optimists expect, profits will spiral, probably making room for both pay rises and price cuts." These hopes are all too likely to be frustrated by a low-wage high-price policy. With take-home pay 20 per cent and more below war levels, current income of the workers will not enable them to buy an annual output of 7,000,000 automobiles and equivalent outputs of other industries making durable consumer goods.

Nor can the managers of such industries count on pent-up demand and stored-up purchasing power to provide buoyancy for sales even though current income lags. When pay envelopes suddenly grow slim, men do not rush to spend their savings; they continue to make do with old cars or refrigerators and postpone purchases of desirable but non-essential goods, particularly in the face of high prices. In "Price-Making in a Democracy" (Brookings, 1944) Edwin G. Nourse gave the following advice to business:

> To attain sound adjustment, management must in its own interest be alert to hold prices down to a point where full product can continuously be taken off the market by current purchasing power. . . . If the price is set tentatively at a level so high as to be profitable with the volume of sales 20 or 30 or even some greater percentage below the war level or post-war full-scale rate, then that is the volume of sales and employment and use of invested capital which will be realized. If price-makers think they can ignore or defer the period of adjustment of their prices to an efficiency cost basis while they garner in the accumulated "easy money," they will have made the task of real adjustment more difficult, if not, in any full sense, impossible.

In other words, only by deliberately aiming for high volume can price-makers insure the generation of sufficient purchasing power to maintain that volume. By setting their sights for a large margin of profits instead of a large output they are all too likely to miss both targets. If the golden goose of private enterprise is in danger, it is far more because of the erratic shooting of its keepers than because of labor's designs upon its neck.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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The People's Front

ON HIS recent return from London, where he attended a Catholic celebration, Monsignor Casimiro Morcillo, Auxiliary Bishop of Madrid, assured Franco of the continuing support of British Catholics. Monsignor Morcillo himself and with one or two exceptions the entire Spanish Catholic hierarchy are staunch supporters of the Generalissimo's regime. In his pastoral of September 3 the Spanish Cardinal Primate had urged the people to rally behind Franco and had denounced the "anti-Spanish" campaign abroad. The Bishop was greatly relieved to find that in Britain, at least, true friends of Spain had not been taken in by the propaganda of "Free Masons and reds" about concentration camps, executions, the Blue Division, and the activities of Nazi agents.

The *Tablet,* Britain's most influential Catholic weekly, has been consistently pro-Franco. In this country his most respectable organ, the influential Jesuit weekly, *America,* recently published an attack on the Spanish Republicans that outraged even so deeply religious a group as the Basque exiles. Devout Catholics but good Republicans, the Basques have not forgotten the hundreds of priests who died before Franco's firing squads.

The Vatican has been as useful an ally of the Franco government as was the now defunct Axis. No doubt when Franco falls, the Holy See will advance all sorts of subtle arguments —its archivists will miraculously dig up "hitherto unpublished documents"—to prove that this charge is untrue. The beautiful hands of Pope Pius XII, which blessed the Axis forces and the victorious American troops in turn, will describe the same graceful gesture of benediction when the first Basque delegation from the restored Spanish Republic visits Rome.

But it will require more than benedictions and musty documents to make the world forget the Pope's many pronouncements in praise of Franco. On several occasions in 1939 Pope Pius congratulated Franco on his "glorious Catholic victory." In 1943 he hailed "the happy resurgence" of the faith in Spain. And although in his Christmas message of 1944 His Holiness mentioned in alphabetical order the other nations meriting praise for their "brotherly love and charity," he preceded the entire list with Spain and its "head of state." To my knowledge the Pope has never uttered a single word of protest against the Franco repression.

The frequent reports that the Vatican favors the return of the Spanish monarchy do not contradict its consistent support of Franco. What the Vatican fears above all is a democratic victory in Spain. It does not seem to realize that only a strong Republican government can assure freedom of religion; that only under a republic could the church regain the respect of the Spanish people, for then it would be rigidly excluded from interference in the political life of the nation.

The Vatican believes that in the present situation a monarchy offers greater guaranties of security than the decaying Franco regime. At the same time, however, it realizes that the monarchy lacks popular support—a weakness which the Republican forces could exploit to good advantage. For that reason it would like to see a kind of merger between the Franco forces and the royalists: Don Juan would play the role of "constitutional" monarch, backed by the Falangist bayonets which made it possible, as Pope Pius so eloquently said in a message to Spain shortly after the end of the Spanish war, for "Christ [to] triumph in the schools and . . . the Church rise up out of the smoking ruins to infuse the Christian spirit into your laws, your institutions, and all the manifestations of official life."

The Vatican's Spanish policy is only one part of its large and ambitious foreign program. It has emerged from the war one of the important world powers, enjoying all the advantages of that position and none of its disadvantages. Accorded an almost unique elasticity of speech, the Pope adopts now a liberal tone, as in his New Year's address to the Roman nobility, now a "trade-union" approach, as in his address last March to the Christian Workers' Association of Italy—but all the time goes on using the language of reaction to Franco Spain.

Progressives everywhere have assumed a peculiarly timid attitude toward the Vatican—an attitude rooted in their reluctance to be regarded as anti-Catholic. And the Vatican has astutely exploited the popular misconception that to attack clericalism is to attack the Catholic faith or the church. I have just gone through the issues of a well-known British liberal weekly for the past six months. On almost every subject it has spoken with admirable courage and independence. But I did not find a single article, not even a passing comment, on the activities of the Vatican. As a matter of fact, a British daily created a sensation last year by publishing a Low cartoon, Neutrality in Rome, which showed a cardinal dispatching a message of congratulation to Hitler while another hawked an anti-Russian issue of the *Vatican News.* The United Press commented, "It is believed to be the first time that a British daily newspaper has carried an anti-Vatican cartoon." Indeed, the Vatican enjoys a kind of diplomatic immunity which the British Foreign Office and the State Department have good reason to envy. Each time the leaders of the Big Three have met, the papers have printed many inside stories, personal attacks, and canards. Yet Archbishop Spellman has made several trips to Europe, and we have still to learn the real purpose of his visits.

I have no unfriendly feeling toward the Catholic church. Thousands of Spain's best Catholics are on the side of the Republican government in exile. Spain is a Catholic country; it will doubtless remain a Catholic country; the Spanish Republic is resolved to protect the rights of Spain's Catholics. But the Catholic faith is one thing and the Vatican is another. And in Spain as elsewhere the Vatican is today in the service of reaction.

DEL VAYO

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Karl Shapiro's Poetics

ESSAY ON RIME. By Karl Shapiro. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.

"ESSAY ON RIME" is an attack upon the character of modern poetry and upon the author's own poetry, as Shapiro says with modesty. This modesty would be less distressing were it not uncalled for, and were it not a repudiation of Shapiro's own attitudes and practice as a poet.

The essential vagueness of Shapiro's attack is such that any attempt at an exact formulation of it must omit some ambiguous qualification or apology. To state directly what is actually diffuse and contradictory, Shapiro has discovered a threefold confusion in modern poetry. In prosody, the modern poet depends too much upon scansion by count of ear, which Shapiro confounds with such devices as Cummings's typography and with his own misunderstanding of Bridges's analysis of Milton's blank verse. In language, the modern poet makes a false use of conversational diction, abstract nouns, and like devices—a criticism which is too general to mean very much. In belief, the failure is disbelief, the effort to find beliefs, and an acceptance of the doctrines of Freud — accusations which are soft impeachments indeed. What Shapiro desires, and what he regards as the peak from which poetry has declined, is again hard to say, although in one passage he asks, "Where is the literature/ Of nature, where the love poem and the plain/ Statement of feeling?" and he repeatedly expresses his dislike for "verse of the mind," a distaste which must include Lucretius, Dante, Donne, Pope, Coleridge, and lesser lights.

The wrongness of this new work extends from the writing as such to the governing motives of the entire poem. In particular, the versification is in a rhythm as crude as a rocking-chair's, and the phrasing is full of such items as "traumatic shattering shock," "gross indecency," "brave kids," and "the golden doors of Hopkins' heart." And then in describing the nature of modern poetry Shapiro commits countless errors of fact and interpretation. A passage from Marianne Moore's profound poem about poetry, the ironic remark, "I too dislike it," is cited by Shapiro to show that Miss Moore literally dislikes poetry. Freud's *therapy* is said to be "deterministic" and "deductive." Poe is called "the Lenin of the Symbolists." Hart Crane's death is attributed to the religion of art. "Finnegans Wake" is said to be an exercise in "Freudian philology." And we are told that Blake's lyrics are left unread for the sake of his "Prophetic Books." These details would not matter too much except for the purpose they are meant to serve.

The declared purpose of showing the decline of modern poetry none the less permits Shapiro to praise greatly a few authors—Joyce, Eliot, Auden, and other modern poets. The fault is said to be with the imitators of these great authors, though the imitators are making use of the masters' inventions. If it seems contradictory to praise the master for qualities for which the follower is censured, and the whole of modern poetry condemned, the explanation is that Shapiro's praise is really half-hearted and ambiguous. "Ash Wednesday" is a great poem, and "Ulysses" is a great work, too. But for "the breakdown" in language "Joyce is as much to blame as any man"; "the price he paid for greatness is too dear," a statement which means less and less the more it is scrutinized, unless it means that "Ulysses" ought not to have been written.

When Shapiro speaks of criticism—by which he means only "self-dependent pride in thought, act, and invention" —and when he attacks intellectuals who practice criticism—which turns out, after all, to be elucidation and evaluation of and commentary upon works of art—the bias and the crucial weakness of his attack seem to become plain. The worst consequence of such attacks as these—Shapiro's is not the first, or the last, or essentially different from that of Van Wyck Brooks or of J. Donald Adams—is that the false and vicious seesaw of attack and defense is forced upon everyone. To object to this kind of attack upon modern poetry is far from being prepared to deny the excesses and limitations of modern poetry. To feel that Shapiro's anti-intellectualism and philistinism are foolish does not mean that one has to justify the serious defects of the intellectual and the bohemian. In his previous volume, in a poem entitled "The Intellectuals," Shapiro wrote, "I'd rather be/ A milkman" and "I'd rather be a barber" than an intellectual, forcing one to wonder what is so wonderful about being a milkman—not that one has anything against milkmen. In this new work he condemns intellectuals more than anyone else, which suggests powerfully that the attack on criticism is a fear of critics, and the hatred of the intellectual a fear of the intellect. There is no other explanation of his horror of glosses, commentaries, translations, and the analysis of poetry. The truth is that the modern poet, critic, or intellectual is not so inferior to the milkman as this depressing and disappointing book makes out.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Study of the Jews

A PARTISAN GUIDE TO THE JEWISH PROBLEM. By Milton Steinberg. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.

WHEN Dr. Steinberg put "partisan" in his title he instantly showed the scrupulous tolerance that characterizes this study. No one involved in the Jewish problem can remain non-partisan; the only approach to reason is through announcing one's prejudice at the outset. This study embraces everything from the arguments for assimilation to the methods for a rejuvenation of Judaism. Every type of Jew is presented, from the orthodox Jew to the Jew who has only a sense of belonging to a social group, with perhaps a tenuous memory of ritual stimulated annually by the news photographs of Yom Kippur. There is an analysis of the sick soul of the Jew, his self-hatred as a result of centuries of persecution—a characteristic studied by Freud even while

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he was himself unwittingly its victim. There is an answer offered, in a positive and progressive Judaism. And finally there is a remarkably good section on Zionism, interesting not only because it stresses the rebuilding of land and character, but because it points out that the movement's greatest contribution to society may yet prove to be the wide experience of the Jewish colonies in cooperative and communal living successfully integrated with private ownership.

Dr. Steinberg himself is a "reconstructionist," a disciple of Mordecai Kaplan, who defines Judaism as an "evolving religious civilization." Both men find Jewish life compounded of religion, culture and civilization, and peoplehood, all organically interwoven, and point out that Jews can live as Jews through even a remote realization of any one of these factors, but that the full creative life is built upon a well-proportioned realization of them all. I do not feel as strongly as Dr. Steinberg the need for ritual, but then, Dr. Steinberg is a rabbi, and I am not a synagogue-goer. Yet I share his liking for the Oneg Shabbat—a Sabbath custom evolved in Palestine, consisting of an assembly for lectures, discussions, music, and group singing. I believe that while religion carried our ethic for many centuries, this ethic can now develop through human rather than deified sanctions, through human authority for social progress.

Perhaps Dr. Steinberg underestimates the positive Jewish feeling of many of us who find no niche in the Jewish community life, which, as he points out, is so badly organized. At one point, for instance, he quotes a study in which Jewish authors were asked about the role of Jewishness in their creative lives. Only two were found who "regarded Judaism as actively meaningful to them."

I was not included in this study, and a number of writers spring to mind who should have answered in the positive, simply by the evidence of their work: what about Irving Fineman, Henry Roth, Ben Hecht, Daniel Fuchs, Albert Halper, all of whom have written out of this background?

Dr. Steinberg's cultural orientation is offered as an answer to those who believe Jews must either assimilate or live in ghettos. "I sing Negro spirituals, American ballads, and Hassidic and Palestinian folk songs with equal ardor. On the Fourth of July I set off fireworks and attempt to transmit to my children an appreciation of the significance of the occasion. With equal earnestness I kindle Hanukkah lights and discuss with them the meaning of that festival. At no time am I conscious of a strain between the two worlds."

He is clear in his understanding that Jews must be in the front ranks of the movement "toward economic security for all." Aside from their special interest in eradicating the economic roots of anti-Semitism, Dr. Steinberg points out that Jews "must put themselves behind every well-considered program that seeks, within the framework of the democratic process, to humanize the economic order . . ., for theirs is most immediately the heritage of the prophets and sages who centuries ago first cried out against communal iniquity. . . . The tradition of the Jews unites with their self-interest in making the good society very intimately their concern."

This is soberly and cautiously put—Dr. Steinberg is more passionate in writing about Palestine—but it touches the practical and ideal basis of Jewish behavior.

MEYER LEVIN

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Peace and Law

THE PRICE OF PEACE. By Sir William Beveridge. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.

LET'S TALK ABOUT THE PEACE. By Henry G. Alsberg. Hastings House. $2.75.

EUROPEAN MANIFESTO. By Pierre de Lanux. Creative Age Press. $2.

BOOKS like Alsberg's and Beveridge's fill me with despair. They are so quietly, so incontrovertibly right. All readers will coolly nod approval; and then they will go on indorsing, supporting, or at least condoning the policies which Alsberg and Beveridge have so luminously shown to be disastrous. And this means *you,* member of *The Nation's* intelligentsia.

There is nothing flashy and nothing cryptic about either book—just plain, straightforward discussion. The tone is very much the same. Alsberg professes to address a G. I., carefully explains technical terms, and uses an occasional bit of slang. Beveridge might be addressing the House of Commons, a Rotarian meeting, or a Bankers' Institute. The frivolous and the sophisticated had better leave these books alone.

Both books were written before the fiasco of the London Conference of Foreign Ministers, before the Potsdam meeting of supermen, before San Francisco, and even before Yalta. But the issues have not changed, and the books re-

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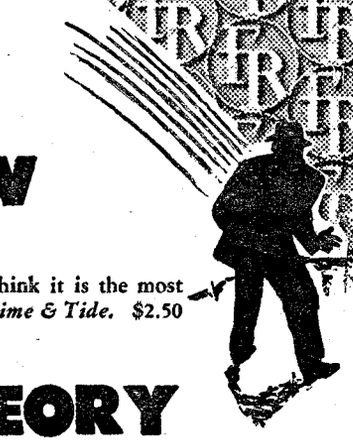

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main as timely as when they were first planned. The essential idea is simple: you can have peace only on the basis of law, among the nations as well as within each nation. And the law must be equal for all, or it is not law. An order established on force is not peace, for the only meaning of force is the threat of war. Therefore any juridical distinction according to power, any privilege granted to the Big Five, *is* war. It may be bloodless war, if the victim submits without a struggle, as Czechoslovakia did after Munich. But injustice does not become legitimate because it is overwhelming.

The "price of peace," according to both, is the renunciation of absolute sovereignty and the substitution of collective security for private—that is, national—armaments. In a liberal state the individual is "sovereign," although not independent; he is "the captain of his soul," and cannot be coerced except when he is interfering with the freedom of others. All are equal in the eyes of the law. In a liberal World Commonwealth the same juridical equality of all members, great or small, should prevail. It was promised in advance by the Connally resolution, pledged anew by Cordell Hull, reaffirmed in the Preamble of the San Francisco Charter. But in a daze which is partly confusion, partly hypocrisy, partly weariness we turn our backs upon international law and revert to Bismarckian "realism," "blood and iron," "might is right," "power politics," "the Big Three."

Sir William protested in advance (March 7, 1945) in a fine letter to the London *Times*. Later developments have not invalidated his argument. He was pointing the right way; we took the wrong turn; but he is still pointing the right way. The latest development, the atomic bomb, has strengthened his thesis. He is at present advocating, I understand, the World State *now*. San Francisco was but a futile gesture—as all who attended felt at the time. Even without the Big Five poison, it would be obsolete before it came into effect. Our work is still ahead.

From the historical point of view Sir William Beveridge's book is the richer. Chapter III, The Lesson of Experience, is a masterly summary. Alsberg's gives a more comprehensive survey of the problems we have to face. It is, indeed, in twenty-five easy "lessons," a first-class Primer of World Affairs. The author dares to tackle, for instance, the question of population pressure, which most of us seek to evade. Malthus was right in the main: if population kept increasing in geometric ratio, however small the ratio, the world would eventually turn into a solid mass of humanity—which is absurd. There must be a check; war, pestilence, famine are not the most humane solutions. Alsberg considers the problem solved so far as the white race is concerned. He hopes that the Hindus and Chinese will reach the same state of equilibrium when they are fully industrialized. In the meantime he would provide an outlet for them, particularly in Brazil. I do not know whether this particular solution will prove sufficient; I do not know whether there is any effective solution; but the problem should not be shunned.

Alsberg strongly and ably advocates a Federation of Europe west of the Curzon Line, and including England. As I noted in reviewing Chamberlin, everyone is driven willy-nilly to that solution, which was foreshadowed by Roosevelt and Churchill. If Europe is Balkanized, torn between Russian and English influences, it means war. If Russia and its friends

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in this country should oppose European union, they would hasten it—but against Russia. War again, but a war which might turn into a crusade of the pluto-democracies against communism and result in the triumph of reaction. The solution would be for the West and Russia to reach a friendly agreement. It is not beyond the reach of statesmanship. If we have no guide but distrust and fear, "realism" will take its course. And we should be realistic enough to know where such realism leads.

I am informed that the International Relations Clubs, thanks to the Carnegie Foundation, have distributed among the colleges many copies of "European Manifesto," by Pierre de Lanux. A wise move. Lanux is a good world citizen and a good European. He has worked for years in the Paris office of the League of Nations; he may be said to be, with Coudenhove-Kalergi, the heir of Briand's spirit. He too wants an integrated Europe. He urges particularly that the liberated nations, which have so deeply suffered, should have a voice in the settlement. If they were overrun, it was on account of our lack of foresight, of our neutrality and isolationism. Our record gives us no authority to reconstruct Europe; and the European peoples have not forfeited the right to shape their own destinies. "United through the tragic fate of Nazi subjugation and a common underground, ten European nations—140,000,000 people—form the nucleus of the New Europe."

ALBERT GUERARD

BRIEFER COMMENT

A Satisfying Human Tale

THE READERS of such an autobiography as Marianne Oswald's "One Small Voice" (Whittlesey House, $2.75) ask themselves, if they are honest, "Would I find the story *interesting if it were not by and about a famous person?*" The answer for this book is—no doubt about it—yes, you would, any reader would. For, in the first place, the book is written, as gifted people occasionally do write a language not their own by birth, with a freshness and originality which give it great charm. Her father had a "beautiful secret face"; her feet "looked proud in their new shoes"; the butcher and his wife wore "white, blood-drunk aprons"; "like the cut end of a pound-cake, everything had crumpled up; Catherine was the last raisin of my childhood"; "the chairs, the desk, seemed to yawn with loneliness."

But even without the especially savory taste of the English in which this touching story is written, it would attract and fascinate readers. It is intensely personal, first-hand, and authentic; yet the theme is classic, sure-fire, folklore—the immortal Cinderella, the Ugly Duckling, the ignored youngest son.

Not literally the youngest son, for the sorrows of the violently emotional little Lorrainer of Sarreguemines who tells her story come from the disappointment of her family that she was not a boy. But literally Cinderella because of a wicked elder sister, overbearing and selfish, who continually pushes the sensitive, highly gifted younger child away from the glass slipper of success and fulfilment which really fits the dancing feet of the child genius, not her own—middle-class and clumsily trampling over other people's feelings.

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Yet no, not literally Cinderella, friendless as Aschenputtel was, save for the brief glimpse of the good fairy at the end. The wild-hearted child who became the great diseuse had a friend who gave her the sweetest, warmest, most creative love and understanding. Few characters in any book have in them a more utterly adorable character than Catherine the cook. She shared life richly with the small Marianne, and she opened before her, as a woman can for a little girl, door after door, through which later the Cinderella of this tale went through to fame; and to better than fame, to the ability to stir other human hearts, as Catherine stirred hers, to pity and love for the unfortunate.

As in nearly all autobiographies—I suppose psychiatrists know why this is so—the story of the childhood years is more appealing than the later part. Yet the last few chapters handle with brevity, skill, and good taste the rather awkward position of an ugly duckling who has to describe his own transformation into a stately and acclaimed white swan; of a Cinderella who must describe her own success at the ball.

"One Small Voice" should be on the shelves of all those interested in the growth of children, of all those who like a satisfying human tale—and, as a matter of course, of all libraries.

DOROTHY CANFIELD

. . . Ergo Sum

ACCORDING TO REPORT, M. I. T. has invented a thinking machine; and simultaneously, across the Charles River from M. I. T., Houghton Mifflin has issued "The Practical Cogitator" by Charles P. Curtis, Jr., and Ferris Greenslet ($3). New England is determined to do our thinking for us or to prod us into doing it for ourselves.

The way in which the "Cogitator" does this is by presenting under about a dozen headings some five hundred pages of extracts from philosophers, poets, jurists, and other articulate men. The anthologists have stressed the practical by choosing passages that deal with difficulties in the life of mind or that suggest techniques and conclusions. They keep the reader going, moreover, by an exquisite balance between old and new, familiar and novel, long and short, didactic and witty. Like all miscellanies, the volume is meant for the bedside shelf, but unlike them it is thoroughly indexed. So that if one does not read from first to last without skipping, one can readily find one's favorite essayist and see "what they chose from him," or indulge the equal pleasure of finding out what anyone can possibly have to say about, say, *pompiérisme*—which, by the way, the editors quite misconstrue.

Messrs. Curtis and Greenslet are on the whole so admirably eclectic that it is carping to ask the usual "Why this? Why not that?" Yet in one or two instances a question in that form intrudes itself upon the mind of the most docile co-cogitator. For example: why no Samuel Butler—surely a practical fellow; why not more of Bagehot, his kindred contemporary? Weren't there more artists who could think? Again, New England is heavily represented in this collection, and this is quite proper, but O. W. Holmes, Sr., deserved a bigger place and for something better than a calendar sentiment about love. Indeed, for my taste, he could usefully replace with his own wisdom most of his son's rather facile skepticism.

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Which reminds me of one very practical conclusion that this book has made me reach: the widespread admiration for our great American lawyers as thinkers and literary men is misplaced. Off the bench they are third-rate at best and write like solid citizens; it isn't fair to exhibit them side by side with James, Whitehead, and Confucius. J. B.

Shinto Shown Up

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC is now armed with two more books of distinct value in the continuing campaign against retaining the institution of the Japanese emperor. Willard Price's "Japan and the Son of Heaven" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $2.75) is a breezy, readable attack on the emperor myths in the refreshing tradition of journalistic debunking. It is so replete with amusing, irreverent, and sometimes spicy stories that its translation and publication in Japan might do a lot to dispel the aura of sacredness which years of indoctrination have formed around the throne. It suffers, however, from one serious defect: the author overemphasizes the importance of the emperor and slights the more fundamental question of the future of the ruling oligarchy, of which the emperor is the most effective instrument. Robert O. Ballou's "Shinto, the Unconquered Enemy" (Viking Press, $2.75), a study of the religious and political origins and development of Shintoism, is a more academic but no less valuable contribution to the campaign against state Shinto. A large part of the book is given over to a very useful selection of key Shinto texts. ANDREW ROTH

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Films

JAMES AGEE

"CONFIDENTIAL AGENT" is a surprisingly serious translation of Graham Greene's thriller about a Spanish Republican who came to England to negotiate a coal deal for his government and ran into a kind of nightmare cartoon of the cruelty, treachery, stupidity, and hopelessness of the period. The film's intrepidity in calling Sp—n, and even F–sc–sm, by their full right names would have been easier to appreciate in 1938 or so. Yet this is in some ways an exciting and good picture, the best attempt yet, though still inadequate, to make the most of a Greene novel. Charles Boyer, imaginatively cast, gives the agent a proper balance of incongruous frailty, incompetence, tragic responsibility, and moral courage; Lauren Bacall is still amateurish and she is about as English as Pocahontas, but her very individual vitality more than makes up for her deficiencies. The various capitalists, workers, fascists, thugs, scientific idiots, idealistic imbeciles, and perfidious undergrounders of Greene's fable are played with unhoped-for edge and earnestness, with especially vivid performances by Katina Paxinou, Peter Lorre, and a young girl, new to me, named Wanda Hendrix. Even Greene's somewhat mawkish metaphysic of universal mistrust is undertaken rather than discarded. In several scenes — Lorre's ugly aria of fear, Hendrix's death, Boyer's horrible parting scene with Paxinou —the players bear down and the camera bores in with an intensity which suggests the sense of liberty, even in matters irrelevant to censorship, which freedom from the Hays code can bring. The most interesting failures in the movies are failures in pace, atmosphere, and visual brilliance. It should have been possible to tell the story in about two-thirds the time taken, without skipping or slighting anything or seeming at all to hurry; and in spite of some very good sets and a number of beautiful shots, Greene's greatest talent —which is, I think, with the look and effluence of places, streets, and things —is not once even approximated. This is odd, because in these respects Greene achieves in print what more naturally belongs in films, and in a sense does not write novels at all, but verbal movies. I don't entirely like to think so, but he may have proved that certain kinds of movies anyhow are better on the page than they can ever be on the screen.

"Spellbound," Alfred Hitchcock's surprisingly disappointing thriller about psychoanalysis, is worth seeing, but hardly more. A psychiatric adviser appears among the credits, and with enough toe-dancing through the labyrinthine rationalizations of dramatic (and box-office) license, it is possible to imitate the faint ways in which the advice may have been followed. But I felt that the makers of the film had succeeded in using practically none of the movie possibilities of a psychoanalytic story, even those of the simplest melodrama; and that an elaborate, none-too-interesting murder mystery, though stoutly moored to the unconscious, merely cheapened and got in the way of any possible psychological interest. To quite an extent the psychological pretensions cluttered up the murder mystery too. Ingrid Bergman plays the scientist and wears glasses to prove it; Gregory Peck is the troubled layman. Both are ornamentally effective-looking —so much so that in spite of some bits of pretty good playing it was impossible to disidentify them from illustrations in a slick-paper magazine serial, and more hopeless still to identify them with living people. There are some frightening shots of the kinds of striated whiteness which mysteriously terrifies the patient—the mark of forktines on a table cloth, for instance; the remembrance of the initial trauma is excitingly managed; and in one crisis of mental dereliction, in which the camera flicks its eye forlornly around a bathroom, you get a little of the unlimited, cryptic terror which can reside in mere objects. But these are practically the only suggestions of the hair-raising movie this had every right and obligation to be. As for the dream designed by Salvador Dali, it is as frankly irrelevant to dream reality, and so to criticism for its lack of reality in that direct sense, as Markova is for not growing a four-foot larynx for "Swan Lake." The trouble is that this decision in favor of unreality was mistaken in the first place. In the second, the dream is none too good in its own terms. James Cruze did one many times better, twenty years ago, in "Hollywood," probably without even considering calling in an outside specialist, far less a psychiatric adviser. But then I doubt that they could have thought of hiring Dali in the first place if they had been at all wise to the possibilities of their subject. "Spellbound" is just so much of the Id as could be safely displayed in a Bergdorf Goodman window.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

TOSCANINI'S great performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony may yet be recorded to his satisfaction; but it hasn't been so far; and the vacuum hasn't been filled by the Stokowski version, which falsifies the work, or even by the Weingartner version, which gives an effective and moderately well-recorded statement of the first two movements, but a perfunctorily ineffective and poorly recorded statement of the last two. Nor has it been filled now by Columbia's new recording (Set 591; $8.50) of a performance by Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra, the Westminster Choir, Stella Roman, soprano, Enid Szantho, contralto, Frederick Jagel, tenor, and Nicola Moscona, bass; the one to acquire of the three available.

The performance is unusually straightforward for Ormandy: he seems to have set out to play the music with strict obedience to the directions of the printed score, and with strict maintenance of tempos (the one bad example of his usual practice is the slowing-up of the third movement at the end of side 10, which is followed by a disproportionate speeding-up at the beginning of side 11). But that is all he has achieved: a statement of the sounds of the work, without continuity of relation or impetus in their succession, and without communicative power. Even as such it is preferable to Stokowski's monkey-business; and the better recording may make it preferable to the Weingartner version. For this is Columbia's most successful recording of the Philadelphia Orchestra thus far—the first to achieve an over-all sound of the orchestra that is natural, clear, and bright, and without the stridency of earlier recordings. One fault is the weakness of woodwinds as against the rest of the orchestra—for example on sides 3 and 4; and the weakness of orchestra as against chorus and soloists in the last movement (the sound of the chorus is a little harsh in fortissimos). Another fault—which will inconvenience those who play the set with a record-changer—is the differences in volume-level from some sides to the next, and in some instances the changing volume-level on one side. And a couple of sides in my review copy wavered in pitch.

Moscona's tremolo makes it almost impossible to know what notes he is

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singing; but the other soloists sing their parts adequately; and the chorus is excellent.

Even before the scarcity of records caused by wartime shortages of materials and labor I received complaints from readers remote from the big cities about the difficulties caused by Victor's and Columbia's method of distributing records. Thus the first letter which this column's favorite correspondent wrote, early in 1941, was a complaint about his experiences in a North Carolina university town—experiences that went back as far as 1935. His family had a camera business; and it dealt directly with the Eastman Company's own warehouse, which filled its orders within a week or ten days. Victor and Columbia, on the other hand, distributed their records to retail dealers only through intermediate jobbers with exclusive franchises for their regions, who played safe by stocking not the entire catalogue but only the best-sellers and the recent issues. If the retailer ordered something the jobber did not keep in stock, the jobber in turn had to order it from the Victor or Columbia factory; and then, my correspondent reported, it took never less than a month to arrive, more often took two months, sometimes took six, and sometimes never arrived at all. The reason for this, it developed, was that the factory itself did not maintain a stock of the entire catalogue to take care of orders as they came in, but preferred to wait for orders to accumulate before it pressed the copies to fill them.

Moreover the set might arrive with a broken or scratched or otherwise defective record; and then there were the same procedure and delay with the replacement. I heard a great deal about that even from friends in New York—from one friend in particular who after two years had still not received replacements for two defective records in a couple of extra-expensive Columbia "society" sets. And it is about this that I have been getting the bitter complaints recently: now it is impossible to get a replacement at all. My North Carolina correspondent, back from the war, mentions in a letter about recent experiences in record-buying that just before he went into the army, in December, 1942, he broke one record in the Glyndebourne Festival recording of "Così fan tutte," which he asked his dealer to replace, and which is still unreplaced.

All I can offer is sympathy, and if my readers want more they had better complain not to me but to Victor and Columbia.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

We Are Infected

Dear Sirs: It is very well to get the refugee Jews settled in Palestine or any place in which they can be assured of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. But why try to do it in a way that seems to commit civilization to legendary tales of Abraham and a Promised Land, which appear to modern minds as irrational and as productive of evil as Shintoism and emperor-worship?

There is a much worse side to it. It is an ignominious hiding of the fact that the great American nation is behaving even worse than the Arab effendi and with much less excuse. We have so much land, and that the richest on earth, that we pay farmers a bonus for not using it. Next to the Australians, we are the worst land-hogs in the world. We could settle all the Jewish refugees of Europe in Arizona and give them a home with all the advantages of Palestine and in doing so add to the nation's wealth and self-respect. We will not do it because we are badly infected with the worst moral pestilence from which the world suffers—a racism that amounts to emotional insanity.

ERNEST M. WHITESMITH

Canon, Ga., October 23

The Snafu System

Dear Sirs: In the September 1 issue of *The Nation* there was a little note to the effect that the navy's punched-card system was unable to distinguish between service ashore and service afloat. By this date it is probably obvious that the system is practically of no use in aiding demobilization.

When the rate of Specialist (I), or punched-card operator, was frozen at the end of the war, none of us doubted the wisdom of the move, believing that we could be very valuable in demobilizing the fleet. Previous experience with the navy should have made us less gullible. The moon has set, and the Pleiades; time passes, time passes, and we lie alone. I have not done any work since the war's end. The average work week for our 250 enlisted men is about 24 hours. This includes the low-point men working and the high-point men writing letters, reading, being ordered out of the office whenever there is a threat of the higher brass visiting, and getting a good suntan.

A study of the Specialist (I) rate was made at the request of the Bureau of Personnel. Of course I don't know the complete results, but on our local scene there are only 3 men of the 250 who are eligible for discharge. Early in September about 40 rated men were flown out to us from Washington, with an A-1 priority. On the other hand, about 60 men from a neighboring installation were sent back to the States. Even Whitehead's and Russell's logic won't help here. You must use the SNAFU system.

I've spent nearly three years in the navy, and I'm eligible for discharge on points. I'll be a lot more valuable to the country back in school than out here, where I draw $170 a month cash for doing nothing. What can be done about it? SP (I) 1C

Pearl Harbor, October 23

The American Air

Dear Sirs: To my horror I am attacked from time to time—as a result of the autumnal season, which reminds me of this-time-last-year—by bouts of nostalgia for the campaign, which I hated cordially at the time. Nostalgia for "what will tomorrow bring?"—for the state of flux—and, most astonishing of all, for the Americans! Who would have believed it?

I was washing for dinner last evening when in walked from out of the night a man of about thirty-five, dressed in the uniform of a United States sergeant. I was delighted to see a G. I. again, and spoke to him warmly, when something in his manner did not seem right, and I tumbled to the fact that he was a Dutchman dressed, as many of them are, in an American uniform. My disappointment was extreme. And what surprised me, too, was that I had been so very glad in the first instance to see an American.

In Normandy, and also in Belgium at the time of the Rundstedt offensive, we were on the United States flank, and the G. I.'s called on us every day and

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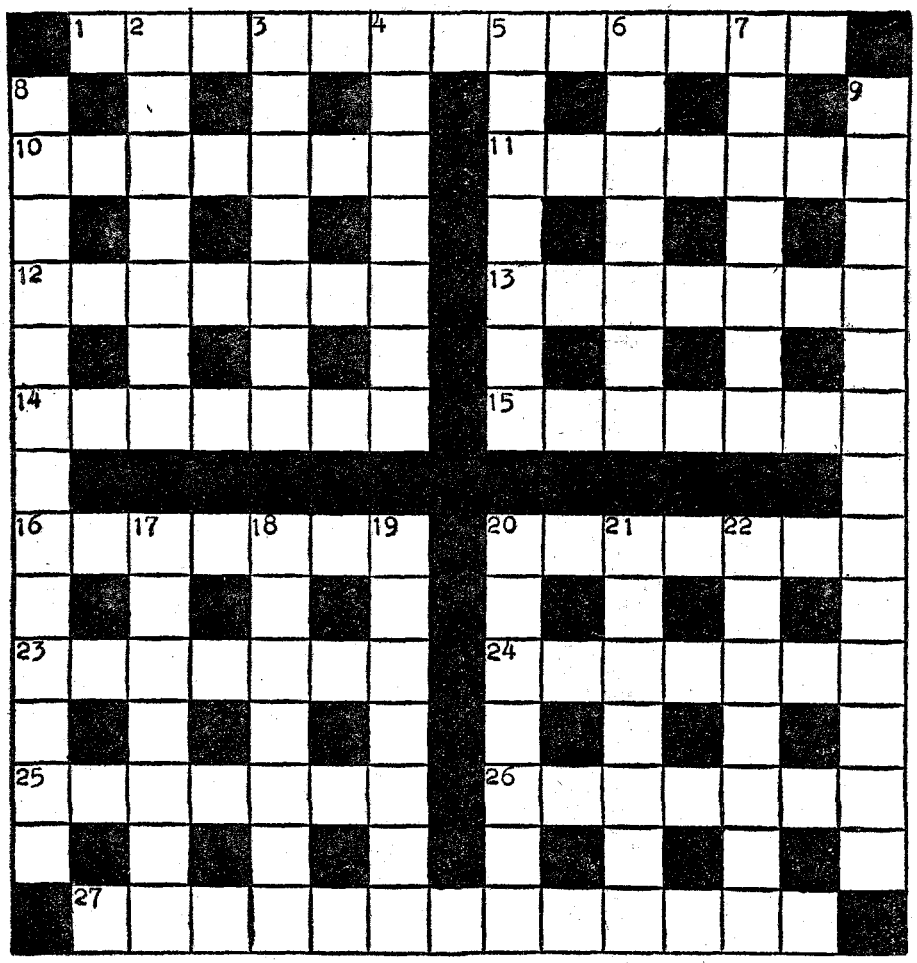
Crossword Puzzle No. 134

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 All of their music is by handle (hyphen, 5-8)
10 He is usually heard from at open meetings
11 "My starveling bull, Ah! Woe is me! In ------- full How lean is he!"
12 Spanish city famed for its Alhambra, built by the Moors in the 13th century
13 No smoke without fire—except when things do this
14 Heads!
15 What can't be cured must be this
16 Literally, its name means "beautiful lake"
20 He fought with Pilgrim in the Bunyan tale, and sounds like a bad 'un
23 Smaller, flatter and less dangerous than an iceberg
24 A Night in Shakespeare
25 More commodious
26 Son of Sir Rowland de Boys, in *As You Like It*
27 Gee-gees, but in no sense the stable variety (hyphen, 7-6)

DOWN

2 Known as "'Coeur de Lion," he spoke no English, knew nothing of England, and spent only nine months there during a ten-year reign
3 A free translation of this old greeting might be, "Everybody welcome!" (two words, 3 & 4)
4 Self-styled "master race"
5 Admits being past its heyday, hence the deadlock
6 Always followed by a concord in music, or should be
7 A regular visitor could be no ruder
8 England's favorite Gilbert and Sullivan operetta (two words, 3 & 10)
9 Familiar nursery tale the French know as *Le Petit Chaperon Rouge* (hyphen, 3-6-4)
17 A musical direction to organists
18 Act with a careless, swaggering, frolicsome air
19 Invaded and occupied
20 Lost city of Syria, afterwards rebuilt under the same name
21 "My name is John Wellington Wells; I'm - ------ in magic and spells" (two words, 1 & 6)
22 "Millions for -------, but not one cent for tribute"

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 133

ACROSS:—1 GUNPOWDER; 6 PATTI; 9 BONE DRY; 10 LANTERN; 11 OBVERSE; 12 NOODLES; 13 NED; 15 UNHAND; 17 MAUSER; 18 UTICA; 19 ROWING; 22 NATURE; 25 ATE; 27 FIGURES; 28 LORRIES; 30 NIAGARA; 31 STUDIED; 32 DELVE; 33 THEODORUS.

DOWN:—1 GOBBO; 2 NINEVEH; 3 OLD IRON; 4 DRYDEN; 5 ROLAND; 6 PANDORA; 7 TREBLES; 8 INNISFREE; 14 EXIST; 15 UNREFINED; 16 DUG; 17 MAN; 20 WAGTAIL; 21 NARRATE; 23 AGROUND; 24 UNIFIER; 25 ASKANT; 26 ELYSEE; 29 SIDES.

drank with us, and traded coffee for eggs, which they did not have the art of scrounging. Also, on my trips to Paris, I was sometimes pulled out of the mud, and literally out of the snow, by G. I.'s; and the presence of this huge army on our left (3½ G. I.'s to every Tommy) was constantly felt from Bayeux to Westphalia.

But now Ike has gone from us, and we are isolated once again in our separate zones.

What is it about the Americans that attracts me? Is it the men themselves? They are often dull, and, generalizing, an average British Squaddy has more individuality, is more of a person (often an executive, or a character, or a man with a point of view), than a G. I. What suddenly made me homesick when I saw that this apparently American sergeant was a Dutchman was perhaps the quality of great width and breadth, of size and expanse, that the United States army had and ours did not. This was not a matter of numbers but of freedom—something of a wider air, a more distant, less defined horizon.

Do you get me at all? The way they drove their trucks, for example; the way they looked a bit lost wherever they were. They did not settle in, get their feet under the table, as our men did. They wandered. They drifted rather, restlessly. They came into our camp, were ten times more charming and generous than an Englishman, noisy yet courteous; then they moved off again. And though their camp might be only five kilometers away, you had the impression they were going back one hundred miles, and that France, Belgium, Germany became one vast prairie in their presence.

BRITISH INTELLIGENCE OFFICER

Hamburg, October 15

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